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Oxford Lectures on University Studies.

1906 – 1920

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THE MEANING OF A UNIVERSITY

AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE STUDENTS OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE ABERYSTWYTH

ON THE 20TH OF OCTOBER, 1911

BY

WALTER RALEIGH

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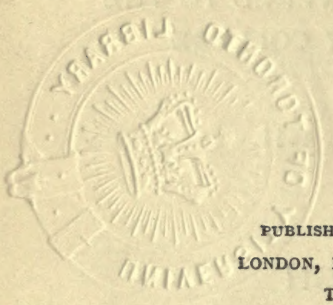

HENRY FROWDE
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

THE MEANING OF A UNIVERSITY

MR. PRINCIPAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am honoured by your invitation to address you at the opening of another session, and I trust that my choice of subject does not alarm you. I offered to speak to you on the Meaning of a University, but it is no part of my purpose to spend time on the definition of familiar terms, or to attempt to extract surprising lessons from the etymology of a word that is in daily use. My interest in the subject is of another kind. By the accidents of life I have had to do with many Universities in many places; in London, where they examine without misgiving or remorse; in India, where the University of London found a congenial soil for multiplying all its worst vices; at Oxford and Cambridge, where Time and old Custom and the delights of communal life have hallowed even the frailties of these ancient institutions, so that their very faults have something pleasant and respectable about them; in Scotland, where the Universities are truly national, and prepare the chosen youth of the nation for work in the learned professions; last, and not least significant, in the newer provincial Universities of England, Manchester and Liverpool, where the activities of a University have been recognized as essential to a full-grown municipal civilization. With all these I have had to do, and I should be very dull and incurious if I had never troubled myself to ask what purposes they have in common, and what is the meaning of a University.

I have not mentioned Wales, for I have never taught there. I have examined, but that perhaps demands an apology. It is the poorest and least fruitful work that falls to the lot of an academic teacher. By the irony of circumstance, it is also the best paid.

On your part, I think you must find that the question I have proposed is natural and relevant. Wales has been convinced that University education is necessary for her full national life and efficiency, and has borne her own part in that renaissance and multiplication of Universities which is one of the chief marks of our own time. The Colleges of Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Bangor need no celebration from me. You enjoy one great advantage over the newer Universities of England. You make appeal not only to the love of learning but to patriotism, to all that is associated with the birth-tongue and the earliest and dearest memories. In Aberystwyth you have shown, as I think, a far-sighted wisdom in laying the foundations of a great library. Fashions change and knowledge grows, but a library full of ancient books can never be superseded. I have always remembered a saying of my friend Professor York Powell, who was at all times ready to help the newer Universities. 'If you have a library and a printing-press,' he once said, 'you have all that is necessary for a University.' He was thinking, no doubt, of the study of literature and the Arts; the Sciences are not so readily satisfied.

It is not by investigating the derivation of a word that you can arrive at a true and adequate conception of a living institution. The meaning of these great, vague, familiar words lies in a whole world of preconceptions

and mental associations. What was the name of that saint, and father of the Church, who, being asked the meaning of Time, replied, 'I know when you do not ask me'? All that we know best we know in that way. We cannot define familiar notions. But we can sometimes enrich and enlarge our conceptions by inquiring what a word means, or has meant, to others. Universities, though so many have come into being of late, are not new institutions in Europe. The University is one of the most valuable of the bequests that have come to us from the Middle Ages. When the Germanic tribes overran Western Europe and settled themselves in the seat of the old Roman Empire, they organized society upon a military pattern. No army can be governed by a majority of votes; and feudal society was not democratic. It was graded thoughout for service and command. The ownership of land was an accident of military service; it was enjoyed on condition that the holder should put men into the field for his master's wars. Such a society is picturesque in its aspect and effective in its mechanism; but for one thing it made no needful provision—the advancement of learning. Learning and the Arts, the inheritance of the free-born, all that gave amenity to the hard Roman civilization would have perished if it had found none to care for it but the knights and barons who imposed their rule on the peoples of the West. It was preserved by that great and wonderful organization which rose on the ruins of the Empire—the Christian Church. Christianity had not at first been favourable to learning, had viewed learning, indeed, with profound distrust. St. Paul was fearful lest the simplicity of his message should be over-

laid with human subtleties. He preached the Gospel 'not with the wisdom of words'. When he says that not many of the mighty and noble are called, he includes with them also the wise; and his words are echoed by St. Augustine, by the author of the *Imitation*, and by many later teachers. Yet a sure practical instinct led the Church to recognize how essential learning is to a religion which, in one of its aspects, is the religion of a book. Latin literature was preserved largely by the agency of the Church; the only schools in the dark ages were the schools attached to monasteries and bishops' seats. By a slow process, which I need not attempt to trace, these were strengthened and extended to embrace a wider range of subjects; until, about the twelfth and thirteen centuries, their ambitions took shape in the earliest of our great Universities.

The University, like the Church, was a democratic institution—that is to say, it opened useful and brilliant careers to those who were neither noble by birth, nor powerful, nor rich. In the midst of a society wholly aristocratic in structure it established a new order by conferring its rewards on those who sought knowledge, not power. The learned men trained at the Universities made a new republic in Europe. The Latin language was a universal medium of communication among the educated classes, and a scholar found himself at home in any of the famous cities that he visited. This singleness of learned Europe is well illustrated by the career of the only Englishman who was ever Pope—Nicholas Breakspear. His father was a poor man who took the religious habit and retired into a monastery, leaving Nicholas to shift for himself. The boy begged his way

on foot through France, studied at the schools there, and obtained a menial position in a monastery, where at length he rose to be Abbot. He was elected Pope in 1154, and, as Adrian IV, had a short and troubled reign. It was he who said that the Pope's tiara is splendid because it burns the head that wears it.

In the community of learning, more than in other communities, a career has always been open to the talents. Of all modern institutions the University approaches most nearly, both by its faults and by its virtues, to the ancient Athenian democracy, where skill in the liberal arts was encouraged and rewarded. Every one who has been a member of a University knows how strong is this democratic spirit, how little regard is paid to alien differences and distinctions. The place you hold in a University cannot be given you; you cannot bring it with you from outside; you must make it for yourself; and, even so, it is not of much value unless it carries with it the goodwill and consent of your fellows. They judge you more truly than your teachers, for they see you closer.

Wordsworth, in a well-known passage of *The Prelude* (if any passage of *The Prelude* can be said to be well known), speaks of the strong republican tinge that he took from his education at Cambridge. The doctrines of the French Revolution, he says, were not strange or startling to him; they merely proclaimed to the world at large the principles which he had already found active in the life of a University.

> Nor was it least
> Of many benefits, in later years
> Derived from academic institutes

> And rules, that they held something up to view
> Of a Republic, where all stood thus far
> Upon equal ground; that we were brothers all
> In honour, as in one community,
> Scholars and gentlemen; where, furthermore,
> Distinction open lay to all that came,
> And wealth and titles were in less esteem
> Than talents, worth, and prosperous industry.
> Add unto this, subservience from the first
> To presences of God's mysterious power
> Made manifest in Nature's sovereignty,
> And fellowship with venerable books
> To sanction the proud workings of the soul,
> And mountain liberty.

All these things you have here to-day; they are still, as they were in Wordsworth's time, the best introduction to human society.

When I speak of a University as the best modern type of a democracy, I do not mean by democracy that strict mechanical equality and similarity of units which some social thinkers seem to desire. A dead level of equality between man and man is not conceivable in live society. A great part of the business of a University is to cultivate differences and distinctions. If there is any place in the world where it is a stupid heresy to say that there shall be no distinction made between the skilled and the unskilled, that place is a University. It has its own aristocracy of talent. Judging by its own standards it does something, no doubt, to redress the inequalities of the world, and to provide an escape from the tyranny of the social order. Engaging in its own work, it opens its doors to all who come, so that it may get the best possible recruits for the carrying on of that work. Having got the best it can, it helps and en-

courages them, and exalts them above the rest. But the rest are not really neglected; they too get benefit from being brought into touch with the business of learning, from breathing the atmosphere of a place where knowledge is pursued sincerely and disinterestedly, for its own sake.

If I am to make a general statement on the question I have proposed, I should say that a University is an institution for guarding and increasing our inheritance of knowledge, and above all (because knowledge increases only by process of natural growth) for keeping knowledge alive. Life implies decay and renewal; a University must be perpetually alert to discard superseded methods and to detect the importance and significance of new studies and new ways of approach. It rehandles all fundamental conceptions, and revises them. It begins at the beginning, and builds from the foundation. It raises fresh crops by turning over the old soil. It is constantly vigilant on the frontiers of knowledge. It cares little for drilling men in masses, in barrack-yards; it encourages adventure, and gives to each a place in the extended line of pioneers, who are pushing forward the boundaries and claiming new provinces. It never sets itself to produce things equal to sample, but attempts rather to increase human power and human knowledge.

Do not imagine for a moment that I am casting any shadow of suspicion upon those older humane studies which for four centuries now have preoccupied and fascinated so many of the best and rarest minds. Methods of cultivation change, but they must be applied to the same old ground. We cannot jump off the earth, or

dispense with what has been preserved for us of the experience of the ages. The study of Greek can never be effete; indeed, few studies are so full of lessons for modern life. I will not argue the case; I am content to quote Sir Walter Scott's remark upon it. He tells, in his fragment of autobiography, how he was prevented by his sickly childhood from learning Greek at school. When he went to College he found himself unable to hold his own with boys who had been better schooled, and thus, from motives of pride (or so he says), he contracted an insuperable dislike for the study of Greek. 'I forgot the very letters,' he adds, 'of the Greek alphabet; a loss never to be repaired, considering what that language is, and who they were who employed it in their compositions.'

Yet nothing persists unchanged; knowledge is always being born and dying; it is a tree which pushes new branches while others wither and drop. We have to be on our guard against dead and petrified knowledge bequeathed to us by former generations. Astrology and alchemy were useful sciences in their day; their history is full of brilliant discoveries and inventions; but they are dead, and the best tribute that we can pay to the old astrologers and alchemists is to continue the progressive study of astronomy and chemistry. Or let me take an illustration from a more familiar science—the science of Grammar. We are all fed at school on some of these fossils. I do not know how grammar is taught to-day, but I remember that great play used to be made with the division of words into Parts of Speech. There was a noun (which is a name), a verb (which is a word), an adjective (which is added to a name), an adverb (which

is added to a word), a pronoun (which is used instead of a name), a preposition (which is put before other words), a conjunction (which is put between other words), an interjection (which is also put between other words, but with no adhesive quality in it). There is no harm, I suppose, in this venerable piece of grammatical learning; but it does not introduce you to the best modern thought on the problems of language, and as a scientific classification it is no better than the division of living creatures into animals, beasts, quadrupeds, chaperons, children, men-servants, and apparitions.

Though we should be jealous continually to revise our knowledge, to prune the dead branches and foster the living, we must not be misled into judging every branch of knowledge by its immediate utility. The standard of utility is a false and mischievous standard, invented by short-sighted greed, and certain, if it is accepted, to paralyse and kill the University that accepts it. It cultivates the branches for profit, and neglects the root. You cannot apply the test of utility to knowledge that is living and growing. The use of knowledge is often the application to practical ends of knowledge that has ceased to grow. It is the timber, not the growing tree, which serves for ships. Some of the conclusions of scientific study can be utilized, but who shall say which of them? How can we be free to ask questions of the world, if we are told that we must ask no question the answer to which is not certain to be immediately profitable to us? We ask the question because we do not know the answer. The answer, if we are so fortunate as to find it, may be disconcerting and strange. Then we must ask more questions.

I am glad to know that you include among your studies here some subjects commonly called technical; I notice especially agriculture, and domestic science in all its branches. These are not poor or narrow studies. Who can be deeply versed in the tillage of fields if he knows no botany, no chemistry, above all, no bacteriology, a science which promises to revolutionize agriculture and subdue it more completely to man's will? The management of a home, again, is perhaps the oldest science in the world; it demands all kinds of lore, and leads the way to an intelligent interest in some of the most curious problems of history. These problems have been neglected because historians, for the most part, have lived in Colleges, not in kitchens, and have served on juries, not in dairies, so that you may read a dozen volumes of ancient history and find no mention at all of what the Greeks ate, or what were their habits in washing. The truth is that there is no considerable kind of human activity, involving a wide range and diversity of material, which is not a fit subject for University study. The chief danger comes to technical schools when they are divorced from those wider and freer forms of intellectual inquiry which are the sacred charge of a University. Then they live as annuitants upon accumulated capital, applying old discoveries without criticism, without curiosity, and therefore without intelligence.

If you rule out certain investigations because no one at present can divine any possible utility for them, see the danger that you run. How would the great discoverers of old have fared? How could any one, from the behaviour of the loadstone, predict the mariner's

compass? How would Harvey have justified his study of the flow of the blood? Or that curious property of amber, which, when it is rubbed, attracts small particles to itself—this surely might seem to be an amusement for a vacant mind, a scientific toy. But the toys of yesterday are the engines of to-day; and the force in the amber drives trains, and links continents, and makes human speech audible at the distance of the earth's diameter.

There is another danger, a kind of lethargy which falls upon Universities in the day of their prosperity, when they have thousands of students and a full measure of public recognition and material success. Then they sometimes forget their earlier gospel, they lose their first sprightly impulse, and settle down to a programme, a time-table, an industry, a system. Mankind covets repose even in the act of hard labour; and a certain measure of repose is to be found in settled habits and uniform duties. There are ten martinets in the world for every one man of an inquiring mind: it is so simple to be a martinet, and so difficult to be a man of an inquiring mind. There are ten men who prefer to be told their duties for every one man who prefers to invent his duties for himself. Yet the world is moved only by those who invent their duties for themselves; and thought, the cardinal duty of a University, cannot be performed to order. Machinery and discipline, a constitution, and regulations—these things are necessary for any great institution; but they are the body of the institution, not its animating soul. If discipline be exalted at the expense of everything else, you get a spirit creditable perhaps to a brigade, but disastrous to the activities of the mind.

Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do and die,

is no motto for a University, and the University that adopts it may add the moral—

Into the Valley of Death
Rode the Six Hundred.

Some weeks ago I read in the newspapers a maxim that was quoted with approval by a high educational authority—I think it was the Minister of Education. 'It is no matter what you teach a boy,' he said, 'so long as it is something he does not want to learn.' That I call putting discipline first. I do not want to argue about an epigram; and it is easy to detect the element of truth in this epigram. If a boy, or a man, is unable to perform a task unless from beginning to end it is entirely pleasant to him, that boy, or that man, is fit for nothing. Nevertheless, I do think that in relation to a University this epigram expresses very precisely and very memorably the direct opposite of the truth. If, when some little pains have been taken to teach him, a pupil does not want to learn a subject, every teacher would admit that, so far as that pupil is concerned, the teaching is a failure. There is always an initial difficulty with a new subject. A fire is often difficult to light. But this is a difficulty which good teaching soon surmounts; and indeed, in my observation, a good teacher does not tell you anything until he has made you eager to know it. To say that the reluctance of the learner is a test of the fitness of the study seems to me a desperate counsel of pessimism. How far are we to go along this line of thought? Shall we say, 'It is no matter what you put

on your fire, so long as it is something that will not burn'? Shall we say, 'It is no matter what you know, so long as it is something that does not interest you in the least'? And what a maxim for high authority to present to teachers! How the bad teachers would revel in it! One can imagine it inscribed in letters of gold on the unlovely walls of Mr. Squeers's academy of Dotheboys Hall.

It is true that every University is bound to help the poor, and, within reasonable limits, even the backward, so as to get rid of the accidental disadvantages of the earlier training, and to give a man the full use of his powers. But that does not mean that a University is doing good if it helps those who have no special bent for learned pursuits to acquire, with heavy labour and much assistance, just so much as may enable them to pass muster. On the contrary, it is doing harm. It is making itself into a machine for multiplying inferior products, and for stamping them with an ancient and honourable hall-mark. Not every one has the taste or ability for every study. Time cannot be more perfectly wasted than in preparing an unmusical person for a musical degree. It is time wasted without end, for the pupils of this generation are the teachers of the next. Let no one call this attitude cruel, or quote to me the parable of the rich man who made a feast, and sent to the highways and hedges to seek out the maimed and the halt and the blind, to compel them to come in. If it had been not a feast, but a meeting for athletic sports, the compulsion would have been cruel. The business of a University is an athletic and exacting business. And, after all, with good teaching and a vast diversity

of studies, there are few indeed who cannot be accommodated with something which suits them, and gives them the great happiness of exercising their natural powers.

I am not forgetting the broader utilities of the Universities, or their daily work. A University, in its most obvious aspect, is a training-school for the learned professions and businesses. There, on wide and solid foundations, the knowledge necessary for some particular craft is displayed in relation to the whole body of knowledge. It is also a place of general education, where those who find their leisure tedious may quicken it and point it to some end. But all these utilities are dependent upon the work of those who seek nothing from knowledge but the pleasure of understanding.

We have now whole systems of National Education, of State Control, of Grants in Aid, of statistics and results. I am not complaining of the Grants: gifts are welcome if they come from generous and unassuming donors. But the central control of education always has been and always will be regarded with jealousy by a live University. Spontaneity and individuality are the springs of its life. Its bravest and most momentous deeds are deviations from the beaten track. I have read a good many blue books lately on the subject of education, and I feel moved to ask a question. Why are these books so appallingly dull to read? Why does the very name of Education oppress the mind with an overwhelming sense of dreariness and fatigue? Education is the opening of fresh eyes on the world; the exhilarating trial of new powers against the forces of the world. Why does nothing of this freshness and exhilaration

find its way into these books? I will not pretend that I cannot answer this question: I can. It is because the facts and figures which fill these books, though they tell much of the organization of learning, do not and cannot describe the real thing. If you wish to understand the motive power of religion, you will not get much satisfaction from a catalogue of the endowments of the various religious bodies, the hours of their services, and the numbers of their adherents. The spirit of the thing is not there. What the State can do for education is to furnish it with buildings and apparatus and salaries; it can fashion the body in the hope that the spirit may enter in. Just so the tribes of the South Seas make images to be their Gods, but they are careful to leave a hole in the image for the divinity to enter at. If I were in control of national education, I should be careful to leave a very large hole.

Because they are seeking what it is not easy to find, the Universities have always been jealous of control. They have often given harbourage to studies which for one reason or another were unpopular in the world without. They have been the homes of many great heretics. But for the support that he got from his University, Wiclif (to take a famous instance) would have been silenced and arrested with his work undone. Freedom to think, to criticize, to doubt, are essential to a University. It cannot be free if it is the appanage of any external power.

The spirit of learning is a good and humble thing, much better than the spirit of teaching. 'The vanity of teaching,' says a favourite author of mine, 'often tempteth a man to forget that he is a blockhead.' A University

consists not of pupils and teachers, but of junior and senior students; indeed, in the older Universities there was often very scant provision made for engaging the services of regular teachers. Any Master of Arts could set up his bills, and advertise his lectures, and teach those who were willing to attend. In our time we make fuller and more settled provision for teaching. But learning is still the real business, and the most that a teacher can do is to help with sympathy and advice those who are travelling the same way with him.

The evil effects of the tyranny of teaching are remarked by the first historian of the Royal Society, who describes the corruptions and errors which he observed in the ancient seats of learning. One of the chief of these, he says, is that 'Seats of Knowledge have been for the most part heretofore, not Laboratories, as they ought to be, but only Schools, where some have taught, and all the rest subscribed'. So things go from bad to worse.

'For those who take their opinions from others' rules are commonly stricter imposers upon their scholars than their own authors were upon them, or than the first inventors of things themselves are upon others. Whatever the cause of this be, whether the first men are made meek and gentle by their long search, while those that learn afterwards, only hastily catching things in small Systems, are soon satisfied, before they have broken their pride, and so become more imperious; or whether it arises from hence, that the same meanness of Soul which made them bound their thoughts by others' precepts, makes them also insolent to their inferiors... or whatever other cause may be alleged, the observation is certain, that the *successors* are usually more positive and tyrannical than the *beginners* of sects.'

That was written more than two hundred and forty years ago, but the evil which it describes has not grown old. Seats of Knowledge are still subject to the vanity of dogmatizing.

There has been a notable growth, I think, in our own time, of the social sense, the sense of mutual dependence and mutual responsibility. We begin to see that we owe everything we have, even our very selves, to the society that gave us birth. Call this quickened social consciousness what you like, you cannot make it anything but a good thing. We are more dependent on our fellows than we can easily imagine. One of the delights of a University is to be found in those close ties of mutual help and understanding which are so often knit there. Nevertheless, the best part of a student's work must always be done alone. Thought is a lonely business. Crowds cannot think; and those who love to warm themselves at the applause of others pass all too easily from thought to rhetoric. The life of a man of science, a man of letters, an artist, is essentially a life of much solitude. The very things which make social life pleasant and possible, the things which raise the standard of comfort and civilization, we owe to men who struggled long with their own thoughts in lonely contemplation. The great men of the great age of the Renaissance, the men who made modern Europe, were all lonely adventurers; from Drake on the high seas to Newton in his study. We seem to be passing into a period unlike the period of the Renaissance, a period when men's minds are chiefly directed to problems of social architecture and social betterment. It is a necessary task, but we shall be foolish if we forget that we

are dependent on the lonely men, whom we cannot command. It is so easy to use the resources of civilization, that we fall into the habit of regarding them as if they were ours by right. They are not ours by right; they come to us by free gift, from the thinkers. Take any hundred people and set them on an uninhabited island. Let them have all the material of civilization—iron-ore, and fuel, and the seeds of plants,—so that they may build up as good a society as they can. How many things would there be, things now of daily use, which would be lost to them for ever? How many years would it take them to recapture the lore of the steam-engine and the printing-press? They would be in a position to understand how completely in our daily life we are the beneficiaries of knowledge and skill not our own.

I remember once asking a good biologist whether any proof is possible that man is the most intelligent of the animals. He replied that comparison of individual with individual is impossible; we know too little of the mental processes of other creatures; but that, judged by the perfection of their social organization, the ants, not to mention the bees, are above us. They have a more thoroughly organized society. The individual is more completely subordinated to social welfare. Their small size is against them; if they were as large as cats, there would soon be none of us left. I do not know whether we can rest a claim to superiority upon some more honourable ground than mere size. But I suggest that it is at least possible that the ants and the bees do not ask questions; that they can show us no counterpart to the man at work on his own thoughts

in laboratory or study. And this power in man seems to be the chief guarantee for the welfare and progress of humanity.

I have spoken as if progress were a part of the law of life; and it is easy to think so while one contemplates the amazing developments of science, particularly of mechanical science. But literature and the arts, to which my own time is given, teach a humbler lesson. There the question is not by how much we can excel our fathers, but whether with toil and pains we may make ourselves worthy to be ranked with them. The rapid strides of scientific invention make us prone to think of the history of mankind as a triumphant story of continual advance. So we may think of it, if we like. But if man has in the main been successful in his business of understanding and mastering the world, nevertheless his story is a chequered story, and he has suffered many defeats and disasters. He is a fellow that hath had losses. In the beautiful art which models the human figure in stone or some other enduring material, who can hope to match the Greeks? In the art of building, who can look at the crowded confusion of any great modern city, with all its fussy and meaningless wealth of decoration, like a pastry-cook's nightmare, and not marvel at the simplicity, the gravity, the dignity and the fitness of the ancient classic buildings? How can the seasoned wisdom of life be better or more searchingly expressed than in the words of Virgil or Horace, not to speak of more ancient teachers? The fact is that the human body, so far as we know, has not been improved within the period recorded by history; nor has the human mind, so far as we can

judge, gained anything in strength or grace. The problem of learning, in the Arts at least, is the problem of how to make good our losses. Consider for a moment how enormous these are, and how unceasing. The toll exacted by Death is the heaviest tax in the world. A young man spends years of his life in preparing himself for active work, and dies before he has had the opportunity to put his ideas into practice. An older man, who has attained to mastery in some branch of craft or science, dies, and his place cannot be filled except at the expense of long time, and by the fortunate co-operation of many chances. The race for knowledge and progress is a race against the steady oncoming tide of destruction and oblivion. It is not a little achievement if we can move so fast that at least we lose no ground, and keep ahead of the pursuer. Every thirty years or so we have to replace all the knowledge and all the skill in the world. We have to provide that the infants and children of to-day shall know all the secrets and wield all the powers of the best and wisest men now living. Some of these secrets and some of these powers will certainly be lost, despite our efforts; so that we shall do well to be generous in our policy, and to aim at something more than a bare renewal. We must run hard if we wish to stay where we are. We must multiply knowledge and advance it if we wish to keep what we have. In the excitement of our own activity we seem, by a pleasing fallacy, to be advancing fast; but it is not so. We measure the speed of our own passage through the world, and we call it the progress of the world. We see the crests of the waves all riding forward one way, and we think that the sea is

moving. But the deep is very still; and man, who comes from it, returns to it again.

There is nothing in this doctrine to damp human confidence, or to depress human energy. Such a view of progress as I have tried to express does not flatter the vainglory of man, but it teaches him piety. We owe an enormous debt to those who went before us; we can pay it, or a part of it, only to those who come after us. We must pass on our inheritance; and if we really can make here and there, as no doubt we can, some additions and improvements, to compensate the irrecoverable depredations of time and mortality, we are happy indeed. Anyhow, here is work enough for a University, and motive enough to urge us on to the work. The lives that are yet to come are its reward. As one of your own poets has said—

> Thou, under stress of the strife
> Shalt hear, for sustainment supreme,
> The cry of the conscience of Life:
> *Keep the young generations in hail*
> *And bequeath them no tumbled house.*

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THE

STUDY OF THEOLOGY

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE

DELIVERED ON JUNE 13, 1918

BY THE

REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE
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PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

It is a laudable custom that the first act of a new professor should be the commemoration of his predecessor. On this occasion the task is not difficult. There have been few more striking personalities in Oxford during the last fifty years than Henry Scott Holland. A member of Balliol College, he became a Senior Student and Censor of Christ Church; then, like his master, Liddon, a Canon of St. Paul's; and at the end of his life returned to Christ Church as Canon and Professor. As a young man he came under two strong influences; from Green he learnt philosophy, Liddon gave him his religious system. He assimilated both with all the eagerness and enthusiasm of his nature, and harmonized them into a living creed which dominated his whole life. For what he said of Liddon was true of himself, that it was the stability and firmness of his central position which gave strength and elasticity to his oratory. Strongly entrenched, his mind played with lightness, quickness, and vivacity in many directions. The convictions were fixed. No effort need be wasted in proving them. His reasoning powers, his gift of expression, his vivid imagination, were weapons always ready for use.

As Holland described Liddon, so he would have himself described. His religion was based on an

unwavering faith, which the spiritual teaching of his Oxford Hegelianism seemed to justify. From these sprang his theology, the dominating power of Christianity in his life, his corporate ideal of the Church, his socialistic sympathies, his political opinions. If the strength of his religious convictions seemed sometimes to narrow the circle of his religious influence, it widened the range of his human interests. It formed, too, his literary style. He was indifferent to logical proof; he distrusted it. He did not care for scientific method. His continuous purpose was to make his hearers realize a religious experience which seemed so profound as always to evade expression. A natural eloquence, a copious vocabulary, an intense enthusiasm, were devoted not to making others reason as he reasoned, but to making them feel as he felt, and no language seemed ever to be adequate. The reality of religious experience was so tremendous.

This abounding faith created a character which gave him his title to distinction and affection. His interest was greater in religion than in theology, in life than in scholarship, in men than in books, in the world than in the University. His warm affections, his keen, vivid intelligence, his human sympathies, made him loved by a wide circle of friends. He was quick to be attracted by beauty in nature or art; a keen musician. He was generous in his charity, careless of himself, full of sympathy for the poor. He was more at home as a speaker than a preacher; his sympathy, his humour, and his freshness could bring life to a meeting however dull. His loss has been deeply felt by a wide circle

of friends, and Oxford will be slow to forget a personality of so much attractiveness.

On succeeding to his office, I may hope, perhaps, to escape the disadvantage of comparison. For whatever capacity or attainment I may be able to bring to the service of the University, whatever defects I may exhibit, I feel that the differences between us are so great that no one could desire to weigh us one against the other. The cause of learning and religion, the work of the Church and the University, demand an infinite variety of gifts, and with very different temperament, character, thought, and ideals, I would only claim to come before you with no less love and affection for the University of Oxford and the Church of England.

I

The subject on which I would address you to-day is the study of Theology. I wish to discuss first of all certain general conditions which are (as I believe) essential for a healthy Theology, and then the particular problems which face us in Oxford.

Theology, if it is not to be a barren study, must be the interpretation of a deep and simple religious experience, and judged by this standard we have to confess that, to a certain extent at any rate, our academic Theology and the religious teaching of our clergy have been found wanting in the stress of the present crisis. Our Theology has been too much concerned with subordinate questions and too little with the fundamental facts. Our minds became absorbed in the history of the

ministry, or the dislocation of the canon, or the Chalcedonian Christology, and we have forgotten to speak and think of the being and nature of God, of life and death and judgement. The clergy of the Church of England, it has been complained, show an incapacity to talk on religious subjects as if they had themselves a real religious experience. In popular language they have appeared to be 'unconverted'. Their minds have been filled, not with the central facts of religion, but with the things of the circumference. Interest in the details of worship, or current controversy, or ecclesiastical business, have prevented them from being conscious of their failure in deeper things. Yet what avail all the subordinate concerns of religion if the fundamental faith be obscured?

There was another defect which particularly affected popular religion. Religion had become confused with the conception of material progress which was the creed of the Victorian era, the belief that under the influence of education and material civilization sin and suffering and war might be eliminated. In fact we had begun to think that sin had no real existence. Our destiny was to be happy, and the world would speedily become a home of human happiness. Christianity was identified in many minds with the shallow contemporary political thought, and when the break-down came the disillusionment was terrible. People thought that God had failed.

An ancient period of history presents a somewhat close parallel. The wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach depicts for us Jerusalem under the beneficent rule

of the Ptolemies. Under the aegis of a sympathetic government, of commercial prosperity, and an established religion enjoying the good things of the world, it was easy to develop a complacent philosophy of life: that happiness was the reward of righteousness, that the man who lived uprightly and piously, obeyed the law, fulfilled his religious duties, could, since the law and religion regulated society, count on a prosperous career. A well-to-do member of the religious aristocracy of the time might quite well hold such a creed. And then came the terrible days of Antiochus Epiphanes. When the penalty of true religion was death, when the Jewish pacifist, who was willing to submit to any worldly servitude if he might only practise his religion in peace, found that even for him there was no safety, when death or apostasy were the only alternatives, all this complacent philosophy of the scribe was washed away. A true instinct began to realize that the heroism of the patriot and sufferings of the martyrs had earned for man the conviction of immortality. But theology failed. The wild phantasies of Apocalyptic literature could not satisfy men's reason, and it was not until Jesus of Nazareth taught and died for mankind that the true answer to the problem of the Chasîdim was given: 'He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, the same shall find it.'

We have been confronted with the same problems and we are thrown back to the same source for our answer. We have been perplexed by many questions which we had shirked or evaded, and shall find a

solution, as the descendants of the Maccabees found theirs, in the teaching of Christ. It is not the Christian religion which has failed, but the popular version of it, which had been profoundly influenced by the utilitarian and progressive ideas of the times, and the official presentations, which had largely got out of touch with reality. The Christianity of Christ was first taught to those who were the sufferers of the world, and it alone can give any satisfactory Gospel for a suffering world. The key to our knowledge of God, as of human destiny, is the Incarnation and the Atonement of Christ. All true progress for man has been won through suffering, and the cross of Christ shows us that that is not a mistake, an accident, a failure, but a revelation of the intimate nature of the Godhead. The academic theologian must never allow the interest of intellectual problems to make him forget the realities of personal religion, or to centre his thought on any other point but the revelation of God through Christ.

II

A second condition of wise theological study must be the recognition of the full stream of Christian tradition, that throughout the centuries the Christian Church has been taught by the Spirit who will lead us into all truth. That is the great and abiding lesson that the Oxford movement gave to Oxford, to England, and, I think we may add, the Christian world, for it is a movement whose influence is even now being continually felt in very remote quarters. Look at the theology

of the eighteenth century. There is indeed much concealed and unobtrusive piety; there is considerable philosophic acuteness, but how sterile and unattractive much of it is. It is as uninspiring as the churches that it built. Large areas of Christian thought had been forgotten. Great names had vanished from men's horizon. The creative power which fashioned the Christian Church and then founded the modern world had been lost. No doubt in the Oxford movement, as in all restorations of thought, there was much that was uninstructed and disproportionate. The ideal picture which it drew of the Ages of Faith would hardly bear analysis. Much that it thought catholic was temporary and ephemeral. It retained what it had better have allowed to be forgotten. But yet the transformation that it made in the theological outlook was profound. It made us realize the continuity of Christianity. It broke down much modern self-satisfaction. It gave new ideals of worship and corporate life. It pictured a society inspired throughout by Christian ideals. I harmonized once more art and beauty with piety. It revived architecture and music and many ecclesiastical crafts. It made religion interesting.

We may have lost the early enthusiasm, we have corrected mistakes, we have a different point of view for many things, but I do not think the fundamental lesson has been lost. It has rather been enriched and extended. Certainly the Church and the theologian of the present day have a double duty imposed on them. We must be ready to learn from the whole Christian tradition—Patristic, Mediaeval, Reformation, Latitudinarian,

Rationalist, Evangelical—and we must be ready also to learn from all Christian churches. We must correct the idiosyncrasies of Anglicanism by the study of Nonconformity. We must correct the Roman tradition by the Eastern. We must not despise Calvinism or Lutheranism. We must study Episcopalianism in the light of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism and find out the defects of its presentation.

I venture to believe that the final result of our studies will be reassuring, that we shall learn that there is greater agreement than had been thought on the fundamentals of the Christian life. The Christianity of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical lectures, of the Russian Catechism, of the Shorter Catechism of the Scotch Church, differ indeed in presentation, but exhibit a striking resemblance in all that matters to the Confirmation classes of a sober English clergyman.

III

I come now to my third condition—freedom. It is only in an atmosphere of freedom that great intellectual questions can be solved. So far as regards the nation and the University we have a considerable amount of liberty, although perhaps not as much as we think. The restrictions on religious education in our schools, as regulated by Parliament and local authorities, are a discredit to a civilized country, and any acquaintance with English social life will reveal how often a man's career may be injured by holding unpopular religious opinions, and how little either

social or political tolerance is understood. But what I am concerned with now is to put before you the religious freedom which is the heritage of the Catholic Church. By a curious perversion, indeed, the Catholic conception has been developed as the enemy of freedom, but some study will show how erroneous this presentation is.

Let us take first of all the classic definition of Catholicism. We are to hold 'quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est'. I need not, as I am addressing sensible people, waste time in refuting the unintelligent criticism which would dwell on the fact that the maxim, if taken literally, cannot be applied in any case where there is a single adverse opinion. Its meaning is made quite clear by St. Vincent himself. We are to correct the aberrations of a part of Christendom by the whole, of the present by the past: the idiosyncrasies of any individual in tradition by the common voice of Church leaders. What I desire to put before you now is how much of what is often reputed Catholic would not respond to this test. The voice of Christian tradition gives us a Canon of Scripture and a creed: it has handed down a formulated belief in Christ, His divinity and humanity; it gives us the Sacraments which He ordained, the tradition of an ordered ministry and a liturgical service. But when that is accepted, how changeable is tradition, how great the variation between century and century, between country and country.

Let us turn to the decrees of Church Councils On their authority we accept the one undoubted

Catholic document—the Creed in an uninterpolated form which was finally promulgated at the Council of Chalcedon, and which we call the Creed of Nicaea. The same Council which gave us our Creed forbids us to 'promulgate, or compose, or construct, or have in mind or teach others any other creed'. Except as convenient summaries of what we are teaching, the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles have no Catholic authority. Nor may we add to the Creed, and this prohibits us also from imposing any particular gloss or explanation.

A careful study of the history of Christian theology will, I think, corroborate our thesis. The reality of the atoning death of Christ has been always the life of Christianity, but the interpretation of that belief has been conditioned by the spiritual needs of each Christian generation. There is no Catholic explanation of the Atonement. There is a rich tradition of Christian devotion associated with the Eucharist, but no dogma was formulated until the Lateran Council of 1215, and that action of the Western Church has had fatal results. There is no Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

To turn to the Ministry. Let me ask you to study the latest product of English Historical Theology, the work on the Church and the Ministry edited by the late Dr. Swete, and particularly the brilliant Oxford contributions of Mr. Turner and Mr. Brightman, and I think you will see the extent and limitations of Catholic tradition. There is a Catholic tradition of an orderly ministry, but there is no Catholic theory or doctrine. The conception of the second century was different

to that of the third or fourth. Cyprian differed from Augustine. Any theory of the ministry must be subordinate to the well-being of the Church and the fulfilment of its mission. The ultimate appeal of St. Augustine is to the Law of Christian Charity.

And this rule of Christian liberty is the teaching and tradition of the Church of England. Its Articles are articles of comprehension, not of exclusion. It will impose nothing which cannot be proved by Scripture. Its teaching on the Eucharist allows probably any form of belief except transubstantiation or pure Zwinglianism. It has accepted and given us the traditional ministry as the rule of the Church, but does not endorse any theory about it.

It is the possession of this liberty by our Church which has enabled us to approach the problems which modern thought has presented. The nineteenth century was confronted with the great advance of Natural Science, and in particular the discoveries of geology, of biology and the hypothesis of Evolution. There were those who would have limited our freedom and made the six days of the Mosaic Cosmology and the theory of special creation part of the necessary Christian doctrine. But the Church was bolder. Men were strong enough to face the truth; and we have learnt to understand that the science of the Bible is the science of the times when it was written, that its function is to teach us religion and not a cosmology, and that the spheres of science and religion are distinct and should not overlap. Modern biology has taught us a more magnificent doctrine of creation than any we had

conceived, and is appealed to by idealism as destroying the mechanical conception of the universe.

The next great problem was presented by the literary history of the Old Testament. Again there were fears, hesitations, attempts to limit by authority the freedom of the Church; but again the principles of Catholic liberty prevailed. It could assert confidently that no particular theory of inspiration had ever been held authoritatively, and I suppose that most of us feel that modern views of the Old Testament have strengthened our belief in the providential character of the Old Testament dispensation and in the Christian message.

The problems that confront us now centre round the New Testament, the Gospel narratives, in particular the miracles of the Gospel, and perhaps the definition of the person of Christ. Again there are fears and limitations. But surely all our experience bids us have faith and patience. If we recognize the full liberty that the Catholic tradition gives us, we shall find that these problems, like the older ones, will be solved, and we shall carry educated opinion with us; but if we advance with reason in one hand and anathemas in the other, the world will not listen to our reason.

What are to be the limits of tolerance? There are some who would demand for the Christian Church the same absence of limitation as for the Christian state. I do not feel that such a position is tenable. The Christian Church is the society of those who accept Christ, His person and His teaching, and that must be secured. There are indeed two questions, the limits of legal tolerance and the question of personal sincerity.

As regards the first, it must be settled in each case by the careful decision of a duly constituted court. Heresy is a personal charge and must be decided by a just examination of the personal utterances of the accused. Popular and partisan accusations must be avoided. More important for us here and in the conditions of modern society is the question of personal sincerity. What must the sincere acceptance of the Christian creed mean? I venture to suggest that the test which each person must impose on himself is this: that although there may be this or that point in traditional belief on which he may feel doubt, he must be fully assured in his own mind and conscience that he holds that conception of Christ's person and teaching which is contained in the New Testament, which has been handed down by the Catholic Church, which is enshrined in the Creed, and has been given to us by the Church of England. Let a man be fully assured of this in his own mind and be content. Of course in all minor matters he loyally conforms to the rules of his Church.

One more thing I would say before concluding this part of our subject, to those particularly who, perhaps from a mistaken sense of loyalty, perhaps from a feeling of timidity, would adopt what I may call the rigid view of Catholic tradition, would impose strict rules of inclusion and exclusion, and would demand a close adherence to a rigorous code of teaching, of worship, and of order. If we study the history of the Church of England and the High Church tradition during the last three-quarters of

a century, we shall find how wide the influence and power has been of the body of teaching which we in England owe to the Tractarians, but that on the other hand every attempt to break down the old traditions of worship by the imposition of unaccustomed novelties, to limit freedom by excessive dogmatism, and to tighten unduly the bands of Church order has met with determined opposition, has aroused bitter resentment, and has alienated men from the Church and even from Christianity.

IV

A fourth element in our Theology must be the spirit of reverent criticism. The function of a University in relation to current thought must always have a large element of criticism in it, for it has to expose error as well as to test truth, and every generation inherits much that is erroneous or has become antiquated from the past. I am using the term criticism in a somewhat wider sense than is often customary. It is often confined at present to that particular type of Theology which studies the literary composition and the historical witness of the Bible and the Early Church. That must, of course, always be an important element in Theology, for it concerns us intimately to know the truth as far as is possible in such matters. But criticism really has a far wider task to perform, and Oxford has fully played its part as a theological critic. Newman devoted all his powers of reasoning to exposing the shallow rationalism and latitudinarianism

of the Whigs. *Essays and Reviews* broke down a good deal of unreal orthodoxy, and in particular a doctrine of the Atonement which had ceased to be real even for those who accepted it. In another sphere we remember the vigorous assaults which two great Oxford philosophers, Green and Bradley, delivered on the psychology of Sensation. I do not know whether the Reader in Mental Philosophy and the Reader in Physiology would care to be classed as theologians, but they certainly have afforded abundant material for the study of theology in their criticism on mechanical theories of life and mind.

I am inclined to think that a chief task for Oxford theology at the present time is the criticism of modern methods of literary criticism. A study of much that is written nowadays about the Old and New Testaments must reveal the absence in many of those who claim to be critics of anything approaching a scientific method, a serious incapacity to distinguish between what I may call 'guess-work' and scientific proof. Let me take some illustrations. A few years ago we were all attracted by a brilliant book on the history of German Research on the Life of Christ, published under the title 'Von Reimarus zu Wrede'. We admired, no doubt, the prodigious and serious intellectual effort of which it narrated the history, and marvelled, as we have often done since, at the sustained mental energy and the equally strange mental limitations of a remarkable race. But a second thought that must have arisen in many minds was, how little progress had been the result of this century

and a half of toil, and when we come to examine the cause of this we find that nowhere is there any discrimination between the brilliant hypothesis and the scientific proof. Have you ever attempted to study the German rationalistic theology of fifty years ago and discovered how unconvincing it now seems? The current philosophy, or the political situation, or the theological movement of the time created a certain mental atmosphere. In harmony with this atmosphere the Gospel narrative was reconstructed. To minds with certain presuppositions the distinction between true and false seemed easy, and our theologians did not perceive that often, if I may use the expressive language of my old master Ridding, they were trying to hoist themselves by their own belts. They built their reconstruction on their historical criticism, but the criterion of their criticism was harmony with the reconstruction. A study of the failures of the past ought to make us cautious in accepting the theories, however brilliant, of the present.

We want, then, to learn to distinguish between scientific criticism and guess-work. Let me enumerate three instances of what seems to me really scientific work. The first is the writings of Dr. Driver on the Old Testament. I mention his name particularly because it seems to me that he, more than any other critic of the Old Testament with whose works I am acquainted, realized the difference between what was proof and what was not. He had not the intellectual characteristics which could have made him the originator of a new school of learning, he could never

have discovered what he taught, and the honour of founding modern historical research on the Old Testament will always remain with the great works of Kuenen and Wellhausen, but whether in the domain of textual or documentary criticism he appears to me—I approach the subject as an outsider—as one of the few Old Testament scholars who realize the necessity of objective proof. I would recommend his method, especially his masterly analyses of Hebrew style and of the development of the Hebrew language, to those scholars who seem inclined to impose upon us as a new orthodoxy the latest theories of criticism, and are ready to accept his conclusions without learning his methods. I would further contrast with his sober conclusions the wild and fantastic theories on the writings of the prophets, the early history of Israel, and the text of the Old Testament with which we are so often presented. These seem to start with the assumption that no statement made in an ancient author can be correct and that everything happened in a different manner to what has been handed down to us. I am sure that subsequent investigation will not support these vagaries, and that we shall do well only to accept theories when we find sound objective proof given us of their truth.

A second instance I could give is the work of Sir John Hawkins on the Synoptic problem. He seems to me to be distinguished among other investigators of that subject by having grasped the need of scientific proof. And because he has adopted sound methods his work stands on a different footing to most of what

has been accomplished on the Synoptic problem. Turn for example to Moffat's *Introduction to the New Testament* and study all the various attempts which he has analysed with such industry as to the composition of the supposed Matthaean *Logia*, and then realize that they are all equally unsound because in no case do they represent more than a plausible guess. Or study all the many theories which have been put forward to explain the empty tomb and the resurrection on the third day, or the various attempts that have been made to separate the supposed genuine words of Jesus. You will find that none of these theories are founded on any other basis than that of conjecture, and therefore they are all equally untrustworthy.

A third instance I would take is the proof of the integrity of the Ignatian letters given by Bishop Lightfoot. There again I find a recognition of the necessity of objective proof, in this case a careful analysis of style, and I cannot fail to contrast it with much of the work on the history of the Church that his predecessors gave us. His example has been widely followed, and on the study of the development of the early Church and the criticism of its literature much wiser methods have prevailed during the last thirty years, and I cannot but think that the scholarship of this country has exercised a wholesome influence in discrediting the *a priori* methods which used to be rife. To sum up: I should put before you that the criticism which we most need at present is that which will learn to distinguish between scientific criticism and plausible 'guess-work'.

There is another sphere to which I have already referred, where the religious future of the nation demands wise criticism, and that is in the history and theory of the ministry. Here our weapon must be a double-edged one, because we must learn to criticize the many novel theories which have appeared in the last half-century equally with the too rigid presentment of the traditional Church order.

I would venture to put before you, then, as four conditions for the healthy study of theology: a close touch with religious reality, a willingness to learn from the whole field of Christian tradition, a grasp of the conception of freedom which Catholic Christianity should mean, and a spirit of reverent criticism.

V

And now I would ask you to turn for a few minutes to the more practical problems in the study of theology which Oxford offers at the present time.

Theology in Oxford by tradition and history occupies its rightful place. It is what we now call a Post-graduate Faculty. It ranks with Law and Medicine. From this result certain deductions which have been sometimes lost sight of.

(1) First, its purpose is to give the scientific training necessary for a learned profession. Just as the purpose of the Faculty of Medicine is to train medical men, or of a Faculty of Engineering to train engineers, so the purpose of a Theological Faculty is to train ministers

of religion, and by the historical and national position of our Faculty to train clergy of the Church of England.

(2) Secondly, as a necessary corollary of this, its purpose is to promote and advance the study of Theology by independent thought and work. For no body of men can teach any subject properly unless at the same time they are attempting to advance the study. A Medical Faculty which was content with repeating the traditional medical formulas would very soon be quite out of touch with reality. An engineer who never turned his mind to the solution of new problems would soon begin to fail, because every work he has to accomplish will contain elements of novelty. It is exactly the same with Theology. Every theological professor must be ready to enter on new fields of thought, and every clergyman must be trained to wrestle with new religious problems, because the thoughts of those to whom he is to minister will be continually changing.

(3) Thirdly, while on one side a Theological Faculty must be in close touch with academic learning, so on the other side it must respond to the needs of the religious life of the Church. That is why the great body of teachers in a Theological school should be in holy orders. No one would have any respect for a Medical school in which the great majority of teachers were not qualified medical men. The teachers of an Engineering school must be qualified and experienced practical engineers. So the suggestion that the teachers of theology should not be required to be ordained could

only be made by those ignorant of what a Theological Faculty means.

(4) Fourthly, just as almost any subject taught in a Medical or Engineering or Technical Faculty is a proper subject of study in a Faculty of Science or, according to our Oxford arrangement, in the Faculty of Arts, so almost all subjects taught in a Theological school may be studied in an Arts Faculty—Language, Literature, History, Philosophy, the development of opinion, comparative Theology, all these are Arts subjects. They are studied there from a scientific or educational point of view, they are taught and studied in a Faculty of Theology in relation to life. Theology from one aspect may be looked on as a form of applied Arts.

(5) Fifthly, just as a Medical Faculty has a double relation—on the one side to a University, on the other to the General Medical Council and the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons—and as an Engineering Faculty must be in close touch with the Engineering societies, so the Theological Faculty has its double relation to the University on the one hand and to the religious society on the other. The University must have in its mind the practical demands of the religious society, just as it has to consider the requirements of the General Medical Council, but on the other side its duty is to correct the intellectual inadequacies of the Church and the weakness of popular religion. The University, if it is to do its work properly in all these Faculties, must be in a position of independence. For the Bishops to exercise

any voice in the management of a Faculty of Theology would be as harmful as for the University to be subject to the control of the Board of Education.

I have emphasized these points because it has seemed to me that in the various discussions on the work of the Faculty they have been to a certain extent lost sight of.

Now if we look at the history of the last hundred years, there has been no failure in the Oxford School of Theology in vigorous and creative intellectual life. It is one of the most famous schools of Theology in the world, and its religious influence, direct and indirect, has been perhaps wider and more permanent than that of any other single University, but by a curious anomaly as a University Faculty it is completely unreformed. While since the revival of the University a Medical School has been founded, and the Post-graduate study of law encouraged, nothing directly has been done in Oxford for the Training of the Clergy, and the Divinity degrees are still distinguished by that absence of merit which, as in the case of the Garter, is so dear to the English heart. And this in spite of the fact that, while there are disadvantages as regards the advanced study in Oxford of Medicine or Law, probably no place is better fitted to be a home for training the clergy. I believe that it is now being widely recognized how great a loss to the Church of England this is. Other religious bodies are taking advantage of what Oxford offers; there has been some private enterprise. Five-and-twenty years ago, when I was resident, I remember how constant were the complaints, especially

from the laity of the Church, that the clergy, instead of being trained in Oxford, went to theological colleges, and the same feeling prevails widely in the Church to-day. Strong recommendations for creating in our Universities centres for the training of the clergy will, I understand, be shortly made, insisting on a two years' course for all after they have taken their degree, and personally I believe that it is of paramount importance for the well-being of the Church.

I believe then that our first duty now is to build up in Oxford a school for the training of the clergy, and I should much hope that we might make a beginning at once, on however small a scale, in order that we may be ready for the time after the war when the Church will have to recuperate her strength.

May I suggest certain principles which should, I believe, be exhibited by such a school?

There are two methods of training ministers of religion. There is what I may for convenience call the seminary method. It teaches dogmatically. Its theology and its rules for the devotional life are clear and well defined. Its purpose is to make each man conform to an approved model both in opinions and conduct.

The other method would avoid the danger of dogmatism in teaching. It would aim at enabling the student to construct his own system of thought and life. It would put before him the Christian tradition, but would not be too anxious to make him conform to a particular model. It would encourage him to hear the independent thought of different teachers. I do not hesitate to say that the second must be our

method as alone befitting a University, as the only one which will make the clergy able to deliver their message in a modern world. The seminary method, indeed, has been tried among us—imperfectly it is true—but even so it has succeeded in sending out clergy out of harmony with the religious life of the nation and often alienating men from the Church or even Christianity by their unsympathetic if self-sacrificing efforts.

We must remember too how important in the case of the clergy is a general education. Here we have a point of distinction from the other Faculties we have considered. If the Regius Professor of Medicine will allow me to say so, it is possible to be a good medical man, it is possible to be quite a first-rate engineer, and yet be without a cultivated mind; but a clergyman, however thorough a knowledge of theology he may have, who is below the general standard of culture, and does not know how educated people think, is a danger to the Church. That is why I believe that for most men the best course is a good degree in arts and science, followed by a proper training in theology.

We need, too, more system in our theology. If a student from another country were to come and study at Oxford, I think the gravest deficiency he would discover would not be (as some think) the absence of research (for I believe there is much keen research and thought among us), but the absence of system. If he went to Berlin he would find not only the *seminar* but a series of comprehensive courses in which well-known professors would in a systematic

and orderly manner survey the whole field of their study. We do that in England very imperfectly. There are few of our philosophers who have attempted to construct a system. You have to learn Butler's moral philosophy from a volume of sermons. If you want to learn Green's metaphysic you have to read an introduction to Hume. The greatest work of English theology arose out of the Vestiarian controversy. A theologian collects together his beliefs in a somewhat haphazard way in a commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles—themselves a characteristically imperfect and disorderly compilation—and never even considers his method. I am well aware of the danger of too much system, but I think the complete absence of it with us is a mistake, and I believe that the failure in system and order in our instruction has helped to create that absence of practical thoroughness in our life which becomes so conspicuous in every department when a great effort is demanded from the nation. I would venture to hope that we may organize a more thorough and comprehensive system of teaching.

Then, secondly, there is the Reform of the Theological Degrees. A Regius Professor of Divinity, when appointed, finds himself apparently solely responsible for the administration of degrees in Divinity. He has no statutory obligation to consult any other Professor, whatever may be the subject of the thesis. He administers obscure statutes not adapted to the modern conditions of the University, and he inherits a tradition which has been injurious to the reputations of the University and the Church. It is our first duty to

make these degrees a reality, and in doing so we have to consider their purpose. They should be a certificate of a sound knowledge of Theology. Our model should be the Doctorate of Medicine, which is intended to ensure a thorough and complete training. What we should desire is that an able man who has taken his degree in Arts or Science should, either at the University or elsewhere, devote himself seriously to the study of theology—that he should have an adequate knowledge of theology as a whole, and show a capacity for independent thought and work. For the first degree we require, in addition to a thesis, a comprehensive examination in Divinity such as is the Bachelor of Civil Law examination in its Faculty. For the Doctor's degree we should demand a thesis showing original investigation and thought.

The third question before us is the admission of others than those in orders in the Church of England to Theological Degrees. Let me say at once that whether on national or ecclesiastical or academic grounds I believe that it is incumbent upon us to do this, nor do I believe that there is any danger to be apprehended. For fifteen years I have worked on a Faculty of Theology with members of all the leading Nonconformist bodies and no difference of principle has arisen. The theological difficulties at the present day are as much between Churchman and Churchman as between Churchman and Nonconformist, and the same theological divisions are found in all the different religious bodies. But while the aim we have is clear, the accomplishment is not so easy a task. I believe in the first place it has

been a serious blunder to combine two separate things, the reform of the degree and the opening to Nonconformists. If we first of all ensure that the degree shall be one in Christian theology, we shall do something to disarm what I cannot help thinking was a very reasonable part of the opposition which arose when a change was advocated—the objection to a possibly non-Christian degree. Let us first of all make the degree a worthy one, and then consider the question of extension.

Then there are certain difficulties of organization to be faced. It must be remembered that the confinement of the Faculty of Theology in a University to a single denomination is quite normal. On the Continent the Faculty is almost invariably either Protestant or Catholic, and a mixed Faculty is unknown. In certain Universities there are two Faculties. Such an arrangement is not necessary with us because the distinction in theology between ourselves and the Nonconformist bodies is not so great but that we can work together in the same Faculty. The arrangement that should, I believe, be adopted, is to recognize different 'schools' of theology (if I may use the term) in one Faculty. The Divinity Professors and other teachers of the Church of England should be recognized as the Church of England 'school'. Mansfield College should be recognized in the same way, and its Professors and teachers be given a proper status in the University. They should have an adequate representation on the Faculty Board. So far as regards University matters they will be under the authority of the Board; denominational

matters will be regulated by the school. The closer union will come when the different religious bodies are united—a consummation which many of us devoutly desire, but which will not be hastened by ignoring the differences which at present exist. I do not put forward those suggestions as anything but tentative. What I should press for is, that we should at once undertake the reform of the Divinity Degrees, and should carefully work out the wisest method of opening them to other religious bodies.

There is one more practical matter which I should wish to press upon the University. I should earnestly hope that the present opportunity will be taken for the Reform of the Pass Degree—and, I may add, the raising of the standard required for low degrees in Honours. It is a matter which intimately concerns the well-being of the Church, for it must always be the case that a large number of those ordained must be intellectually of the type of Pass men. I hope I shall not be considered presumptuous if I say I have learnt to look at the matter from outside, and have seen how much the reputation and prestige of the University suffers by the character of its pass degrees, and how harmful in the opinion of many this low standard has been in the country. The failure of England is and has been intellectual. What we should ask is that no one should obtain a degree in the University who has not learnt habits of work, who is not acquainted with modern methods of thought, who has not had his intellectual interest aroused, and obtained a fair measure of competency in the subjects he has studied. Surely

now, when there has been a complete break with the past and all vested interests are gone, is the time for Reform. Let the undergraduate who comes to Oxford after the war recognize that if he wishes for a degree he must work.

Circumstances have compelled me to dwell somewhat longer than I should have desired on matters of organization, of examination, and of degrees. I could wish it had not been necessary. I recognize as much as any one here how secondary in some ways are these matters. They are only the skeleton which needs to be clothed with life. But a time comes when organization is out of date and needs to be adjusted to altered circumstances, and that is, I think, the case with the Theological Faculty in this University. I hope the necessary reforms will be possible, but I hope still more that the spirit of learning and of divine wisdom may live among us, that the traditional interest of Oxford in Theology may be retained, that the keen interest in literary and historical research which we owe to the enthusiasm of Dr. Sanday may be fostered and encouraged, that Oxford may more and more send out a supply of persons duly qualified for the service of God in Church as in State, and that in the years to come we may make our full contribution to the restoration of a lacerated and bleeding world.

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Inaugural Lecture

on

The Study of History

DELIVERED ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1906

BY

CHARLES OMAN, M.A.

CHICHELE PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY

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INAUGURAL LECTURE ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY

It was with a feeling of deep discouragement that I realized on December 18 last, that I was expected within six or seven weeks to face my colleagues of the Modern History School, and the whole University, with an Inaugural Lecture. Such an address ought to be a sort of profession of faith, a solemn setting forth of the views which the newly-appointed professor holds, and the programme which he intends to carry out, so far as in him lies, during his tenure of his chair. I have heard many inaugural lectures; most of them were interesting, some were pronouncements of much importance and high literary merit. And now I have to come before you, not like so many of my predecessors with all the prestige of a reputation gained outside Oxford, not with the glamour of the unknown about me, but simply as a veteran college tutor with twenty-one years of essays and lectures behind me, to say what I must say. How can such a work-a-day being, known personally to almost every one here present, the most simple and comprehensible of phenomena, hope to deliver to you any message that you do not already know by heart? All that I can set forth is the impression which twenty-one years of practical teaching, interspersed with such research as my leisure would allow, has left upon my mind. I have no dreams of revolutionizing the University; I have no 'divine dis-

content' about me. I have always loved my work, and I think that our present history curriculum, despite certain faults, is on the whole a very admirable compromise between the practical and the ideal. If you expect me to advocate the abolition of our examinations and classes, or the substitution of some systems of *seminars* for the tutor's weekly essay, or the conversion of our Modern History School into a technical machine for training historians, I fear that you will be disappointed. Perhaps my thrice seven years in harness have stereotyped my views and made me short-sighted in my outlook on history at large; perhaps—and this I naturally prefer to believe myself, for man is a hopeful if a fallible being—they have given me some practical lessons, which not every history professor has had the chance of learning. It is for you to judge. I can but give my humble opinion for what it is worth, on what I think that history is, and how I think it can best be taught. The theme, you may say, is trite—we have heard and read far too much about it already. Can I say anything that has not been put in a much better shape by some earlier venter of such harangues? Remember the wisdom of Bishop Stubbs's Inaugural of 1868, the passion of Freeman's declamation, the literary polish that Froude put into his half-ironical apology for himself and his works, the sober eloquence with which the present Regius Professor set forth his plea for the 'historical teaching of history'. What can I give that is worthy to follow on such a series of addresses? Nothing; I have but to deliver the comments of a practical teacher on what he has seen and what he has read during eighty continuous terms of residence in this University.

But to proceed. What have been the messages of the

history professors whom I personally remember? The chair which I myself have the honour to hold has but a short record. This is, I believe, the first inaugural lecture by a Chichele Professor of Modern History that any member of this University has ever attended. When the professorship was founded in 1862, and my dear old predecessor Montagu Burrows was chosen as its first occupant, the custom of delivering such harangues does not seem to have been yet fully established. At any rate, I can find no trace either in the oral tradition of the College, or in written archives—there was no *University Gazette* till 1870—that he thought it necessary to open his first professorial term in such a fashion. If he did set forth his views on history, and the way in which it should be taught, in any formal address, I make no doubt that it was as sensible and patriotic as was every other speech of his to which I listened, during the twenty-two years that we were members of All Souls College together. He was a man who always strove to do his duty, and we may take it that he laid down for himself in 1862 precisely the course that he actually carried out for the forty-three years of solid and unassuming work that followed his election to the chair. In his early days he was a popular lecturer—in his later time audiences had drifted away and historical teaching had taken to developments that were unfamiliar to him. But to the last his terminal lectures were carefully prepared and duly delivered: he always did his best to bring them up to the level of the last modern discoveries: he frequently composed an entirely new course: for he was not one of those professors who are contented to discharge statutory obligations by the constant repetition of a limited number of familiar exercises, in the

style of the barrel-organ. Nor did he ever—like some other distinguished professors that I remember—announce series of lectures on out-of-the-way subjects and at inconvenient hours, to which nobody came, and nobody was intended to come. Many of those who were wont to speak over-lightly of him might have learned a lesson from his conscientious discharge of his duties according to his lights, under circumstances which in his later years were enough to dishearten a much younger man. Many forgot his very considerable literary output: he had published more than a dozen books, small and great, of which several—for example his *Life of Lord Hawke*—have remained the standard authorities on the subjects with which they deal unto this day. Oxford might be considered happy if all her professors attained to his standard of duty and his level of performance.

If Montagu Burrows never delivered an inaugural address, the custom which made such lectures permissible, and then practically obligatory, came in not many years after his preferment to the Chichele chair. I have read that which Dr. Stubbs delivered in 1867, and I have heard with my own ears those of his four successors. Burrows, you will note, in his forty-three years of office, saw no less than six Regius professors in occupation of the other historical chair which this University maintains, and all six of them men of mark. Dr. Stubbs's inaugural lecture started with a eulogy on King George I—rather an unpromising subject for panegyric, though that prosaic monarch deserved a moment's praise as the founder of the Regius chair. But the main thesis of his address was the praise of history for its own sake: it is curious to note that in 1867 it would seem to have been necessary to defend the study as a thing on its trial as an

educational training, and still derided as such by some of the academic thinkers of that generation. We are far from the time when Dr. Stubbs had to declare that 'History is not well used: it is taught as a task for children, it is valued only as an instrument to strengthen the memory: it is undervalued in its true character of mental training: it is learned to qualify men to make effective speeches to ignorant hearers, and to indite brilliant articles for people who only read periodicals: it has been begun from the base of ecclesiastical or political partizanship: it is made the embellishment for wordy eloquence, a source of subjects for pictorial talent that evolves grouping, features, and circumstances from its own consciousness, and then goes to its dictionary to look out names and dates for its figures: it is written for readers already known, courted, and pandered to. What wonder if there are few who love it for its own sake, when there are so few who know it as it is!' In 1867 that great man thought it necessary to defend history from the charge of being the mere handmaid of political or ecclesiastical controversy, to declare that it should be studied as an end in itself with no ulterior motives. How he would have been surprised to find that, less than forty years later, the apologetic tone of historians would be so much a thing of the past that a Cambridge Regius professor could declare that history, considered as history, has no more to do with morals than it has to do with literature, and seem almost to deprecate any attempt either to strive to make it readable, or to draw any moral deductions from its study. Stubbs believed, and most of us (I think) still believe to-day, that the science which we love is not merely concerned with the stringing together of facts in their correct order and the reconstitution of annals, but with

something more. We must draw the moral, whether we will or no: conscious that much nonsense has been talked under the name of 'the philosophy of history', that nothing is so cheap and so easy as to knock together ingenious theories from insufficient data, we yet hold that history has its lessons, and that they can be discovered and taught. 'The experience of the past,' as Stubbs wrote, '*can* be carried into the present: study gives us maxims as well as dry facts.' The teacher who contents himself with arraying the facts in due order has only accomplished half his task. He must take the risk and endeavour to deduce the inner meaning of the annals that he has set forth, content to err if err he must. The fear of being detected in a mistaken conclusion, which keeps some men from drawing any conclusions at all, is a craven fear. What matter if we are proved wrong, provided that truth is advanced? All men are liable to error: true greatness of spirit is shown not by the man who assumes the pose of infallibility, but by him who joyfully accepts correction, and turns it to immediate account.

I did not hear Dr. Stubbs's Inaugural Lecture—being then a small schoolboy—but I did hear that of his successor Freeman, and those of the three professors who followed Freeman in the Regius chair. I retain a very clear remembrance of each of them, and have refreshed my recollections by looking up the records of them in contemporary periodicals. Freeman's address in October, 1884, was in the main an impassioned harangue in praise of what he called the 'Unity of History'. His thesis was that it is useless to draw a line at the year 476 A.D., and to call what goes before 'Ancient' and what comes after 'Modern': that every one who desires to study history must range freely

over the whole period from the Call of Abraham or the Dorian Migration to the Russo-Turkish war, which was (when he spoke) the last landmark in European annals. The theme was inspiring; the general truth of the fact that it is absurd to shut up history with water-tight compartments is undeniable. But the application of it to the practical needs of the University was the difficult point. Freeman tried to illustrate it by delivering a series of lectures on the history of Sicily, which was to range from the earliest Greek and Carthaginian settlement of the island past the Punic Wars, the Goths and Vandals and Moors, down to the days of the Norman Roger and Frederic of Hohenstaufen. But the lectures were never completed, because no continuous audience could be found to attend them. Nor can I blame the University for not being able to provide hearers for a great historian lecturing on a great subject. It is a melancholy fact that the days are past in which it was possible for any one—graduate or undergraduate—to aim at being encyclopaedic. The bulk of knowledge to be assimilated, of books to be read, has grown so great that no wise man proposes to himself, even in his wildest dreams, to acquire more than a sound working knowledge of general history. That proper basis of assimilated facts he must possess, or he will risk building his specialized work without a foundation. But the main interest of the student must be confined within some narrower and less ambitious sphere, and to expect him to master over two thousand years of the history of Sicily in anything but the main outlines was hopeless. Freeman did not propose to give a rapid sketch of the annals of the island, but to linger over them lovingly for some four or five terms—now commenting on the text of Thucydides or of Diodorus, anon on that of

Geoffrey Malaterra. But I think that no one followed the whole of the various sections of this vast whole, and I know well how few were those who attended the later course, and listened to the details of the expulsion of the Moor, and the building up of the Norman realm. Unfortunately those who were interested in Timoleon and Agathocles could not be induced to follow the exploits of Maniakes or Roger, and vice versa. To those who were ready to specialize in the one period, the other period was only a small corner of that vast bulk of universal history which cannot be studied in a minute fashion. We all believe, in short, in the unity of history, but we know to our sorrow that it is not possible to master all parts of it with the same thoroughness. Freeman used to ascribe the indifference of the members of the University to his lectures on Gregory of Tours or Geoffrey Malaterra to the Examination system, his pet aversion: he thought that if graduates and undergraduates had not been pinned down to Period IV or Period VI, or the textual knowledge of the Charters of Stubbs, and all our other technicalities of the Schools, they would have been thronging to his lectures on the Frank or the Norman. I fancy that he erred—the real rock in the way was the growing sense of the vastness of history and the necessity for specialization. How many men in a hundred, if each were allowed to choose his own course and read what he pleased, would pitch on the particular epoch that happened to be that which most interested the professor of the day? A small proportion at the best, and therein lies the whole difficulty of reconciling certain views of the professorial office with the practical facts of the study of history by the average man.

Nothing could contrast more curiously with Freeman's

Inaugural of 1884 than Froude's Inaugural of 1892. The one was the sermon of a prophet who had his message to deliver, who was righteously indignant with a generation which, as he thought, refused to make all history its province, and was in bondage to the curriculum of the schools. Froude's lecture, on the other hand, was not couched in such terms of earnest denunciation: it was paradoxical, witty, full of persiflage and half-ironical apologetics. 'How do I come to be here, Regius Professor of the University of Oxford?' he asked, and then answered, with a smile, 'I was tempted—and I fell.' But putting aside his very clever and rather touching personal explanation of his attitude to Oxford and Oxford's attitude to him, the main thesis of Froude's lecture was a defence of the personal and dramatic treatment of history. He fully appreciated all that had been said or written against his methods and his manner, and set himself cheerfully to defend them. I was carried away at the moment by his eloquent plea in favour of the view that history must be written as literature, that it is the historian's duty to present his work in a shape that will be clearly comprehensible to as many readers as possible, that dull, pedantic, over-technical diction is an absolute crime, since by it possible converts to the cause of history may be turned back and estranged. To Froude's other view, that the influence of the personality of the historian cannot possibly be eliminated, that he must state the case as it appears to him, not as it might appear to some other-self destitute of convictions and prejudices, I found myself giving a logical negative, but a practical approval. Logically no doubt one ought to agree with Lord Acton and Dr. Bury, and to conceive of the historian as a passionless creature set only on chroni-

cling the facts as they occurred. You will remember how Lord Acton put his view in the introductory Epistle to the great 'Cambridge Modern History'—'Contributors must understand,' he wrote, 'that nobody must be able to tell, without examining the list of authors, where the bishop of Oxford laid down the pen, and whether it was Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison who took it up. . . . Our account of Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, German and Dutchman alike.' I may incidentally remark that the admirable 'Cambridge History' has not actually been written in any such fashion. Even were the authors' names deleted, it would require no great power of textual criticism to find out where Dr. Fairbairn 'took up the pen'. The chapter on Waterloo chanced to fall to my own care: I fear that I cannot conscientiously declare that it would be as satisfactory to the Dutchman as to the Frenchman—though I did my best according to my lights to arrive at the exact truth. In sober fact it is impossible to write history that every man, whatever his race, creed, or politics, can accept—unless indeed we are dealing with ages and problems so remote from our own that the personal element does not appear. Conceivably it may be possible to talk of Khammurabi or Rameses or some statesman of China of the seventh century B.C. without offending any man. It is *not* possible to do so with Pericles or Caesar—much less with Hildebrand or Calvin, Napoleon or Bismarck. The historian whose verdict on any one of those crucial personages is to be equally satisfactory to everybody, must perform a sort of *tour de force* of compromise and hedging, or confine himself to the bald statement of facts accomplished. The moment that he dares to draw a deduction or point

a moral, the personal element inevitably makes itself felt. Imagine an appreciation of Bismarck that equally pleased a patriotic Frenchman and a patriotic German!

Therefore I am practically driven to concede to Froude that history must be subjective. No great book ever has been or ever will be written by a historian who suppressed self as he wrote each word: what such a book may conceivably gain in accuracy it loses in spontaneity and conviction. The passionless scientist chronicling the antics of puppets with whom he feels no sympathy, for whom he has no moral like or dislike, does not tend to produce a readable literary output. I can safely leave the view of those who hold that history has nothing to do with literature—any more than it has anything to do with morals—and the view advocated by Froude to fight out their duel in the public arena, little doubting which will be the winner.

And now for a word on the third of the inaugural lectures of history professors that I have listened to. York Powell was the friend of all of us: most of us also owe him a kindly memory for help given and useful hints received. All remember the high hopes which we entertained when he was appointed to the Regius Chair. His Inaugural was characteristic—a short eulogy of Freeman and Stubbs—a bare mention of Froude—an earnest plea for the starting in England of something like the Paris École des Chartes—and then a pause and a gap and nothing more. The address was a sympathetic and suggestive torso, lasting less than half an hour. York Powell, with all his vast knowledge and his ready, many-sided brain, was always more effective in what he suggested than in what he accomplished. So far as I could follow the thesis that he wished to develop in his address, it was that the study of history

in this country was handicapped by a want of machinery for the facilitation of research—places where the student can be taught the elements of palaeography and diplomatics, where he can have his run among manuscripts and learn their tricks and habits under skilled supervision, where he can lay his hand readily on scientific bibliographies. Unlike most of the suggestions made in inaugural lectures, this plea had some effect—but only in London. In Oxford, where it might have been expected to have led to some definite and immediate effort, nothing was done: the Common Fund prefers to endow readerships for subjects in which it is perfectly certain that no large class of learners can ever be got together—such as Egyptology—and leaves us with our admirable teachers in palaeography and diplomatic stinted to a miserable £50 or £80 and lecturing for only a few weeks in the year.

The thesis of York Powell's inaugural lecture leads us on directly to that of the present occupant of the Regius chair—my good friend Professor Firth—which most of those present to-day heard delivered some eighteen months ago. The two addresses are linked together by the fact that both of them are pleas for the researcher—York Powell wished to have him equipped with the necessary machinery for starting on his work, Professor Firth wants to have him 'taught history historically', to use the phrase that stands at the head of the printed form of his lecture. Every one must agree with such an aspiration—the very idea of a historian taught unhistorically seems to carry its own refutation on its face. Clearly we all are and must be at one on this point—if we understand the same thing by the same phrase. But I fancy that the exact shade of meaning in Professor Firth's mind when he uses these

words is what he expands (in another page) into 'a training in the methods of investigation, in the use of original authorities, and in those auxiliary sciences which the Germans call *Hilfswissenschaften*. When we have narrowed down the meaning of the 'historical teaching of history' to this sense, I feel inclined to observe that to a certain extent we are so teaching history already, and that where we clearly are not, there is much to be said for the less ambitious programme that is at present followed. In short we agree on many things, but differ on the problem how far the Modern History School should be technical, how far general and merely educational in its scope. At the bottom any divergence that there may be between us comes from a slightly varied point of view on that old problem of the 'liberal education', what it is, and what it is not, which has already been (perhaps) debated too much in academic circles. It may be that I am prejudiced from having taken the old Literae Humaniores School before I turned my hand to history. I fear that I am still more prejudiced by having been engaged for more than twenty years in conducting all sorts and conditions of men up to, and through, the portals of the Examination Schools. Five years spent as a deputy professor have not eradicated the old tutorial virus from my system. It is from the standing-point of the college teacher, released at last from his dumbness and permitted for the first time to speak *ex cathedra*, that I state my conclusion.

It is many years since an inaugural lecture was delivered to this University by a history professor who came to his post straight from bearing the burden and heat of the day as an ordinary college tutor. Dr. Stubbs reached the Regius Professorship from the leisure of a country vicarage; Freeman and Froude had spent the

best part of their lives in the happy condition of the literary historian who works untrammelled by terms that have to be kept, essays that have to be heard, and lectures that have to be delivered in formal and regular sequence. Our last Regius professor but one, as all who knew him and loved him will confess, was not an ordinary college tutor though he held a tutorial post. Our present Regius professor, to whose inaugural lecture we listened with such interest only last year, shared with Freeman and Froude the privilege of working when and how he pleased, save for the short time during which he took the history work of a college where history men were few and far between. All of the five whom I have named, in short, represented the class of the researcher rather than that of the professional University teacher. Some of them almost gloried in the fact that they knew nothing of, and cared little for, the way in which the average man here was receiving his education. I heard with my own ears Professor Freeman make the astounding statement that 'in the art of preparing—I will not use the ugly word *cramming*—an undergraduate for his class, the last bachelor who has just won his own class is necessarily more skilful than I'. At that moment (1884) I was myself that 'last bachelor', and as such could best fathom the strange misconception of our system which such a statement presupposed. Froude's Inaugural, though it spoke of Oxford history in vaguely laudatory terms, implied an almost equally complete misunderstanding of what the work of the History School really was. He advocated, as a happy suggestion, the use of plenty of early constitutional documents as a base for the study of English History—in apparent ignorance of the fact that *Stubbs's Charters* was already a sort of

Bible for the undergraduate, and that a textual knowledge of it was the one thing on which some of our local teachers were laying what I privately considered almost too great a stress. A little while after giving his Inaugural he wrote to a friend, 'The teaching business at Oxford, which goes on at high pressure, is in itself utterly absurd.' Professor Firth has taught and examined for the School himself, so knows a great deal more about it than Froude or Freeman, but I think he is rather hard upon it when he says that 'he must complain that it does extremely little for the exceptional man who wishes to study history for its own sake'. I was myself one of those unfortunate exceptionals, and know perfectly well that it did a good deal for me—though I had only a scant ten months to read for it.

So, begging for the indulgence of an audience which has perhaps come to hear of higher matters, I must state my humble conviction that our present system, as it works out in the teaching of the average college tutor and the examinations by the University which follow, has done admirably in the past and is still vigorous and successful. I do not maintain that the curriculum could not be improved. I do not pretend to say that there have not been in my memory insufficiently equipped tutors, and dull tutors, and (what is more frequent) tutors of high gifts, who were yet utterly unable to inspire or interest even the most conscientious pupil. The worst teacher without exception that I ever knew was a man who had obtained the highest possible University distinctions, and had also done meritorious work in research. He did not teach in Oxford, so no one need try to identify him. But I am thinking of the system as worked by its best exponents, not its less satisfactory ones. And, so

thinking I am indignant at all the cheap satire levelled against the college tutorial system, the curriculum of the Schools, the examinations and their results, which forms the staple of the irresponsible criticisms of the daily, weekly, or monthly press, of the pamphlets of the man with a grievance, and of the harangues delivered when educationalists (horrid word!) assemble in conclave.

The first problem that must be faced is that this University is a place of Education as well as a place of Research. It is sometimes difficult to correlate its two functions: it often seems difficult to determine how far they can or ought to be discharged by the same body of workers. But, whatever may be our views on this point, there remains the obvious fact that we are confronted by a large body of young men who have to be educated, and that the larger proportion of them are intended for careers for which no technical Schools-curriculum exists. For this let us be thankful; I shudder to think that there are fanatics who would be prepared to draw up the regulations for a special education for any line of life—journalism, the Stock Exchange, politics, Charity Organization, or the life of the country gentleman. But this madness is still far off—practically our problem is to deal with some 150 or 200 undergraduates destined for the most various occupations in after-life, who unite in thinking that the Modern History School suits them better than any other of the avenues to a degree which the University at present offers. Of this body a very small proportion are destined in the end to take up the burden of original research. I agree with Professor Firth—so doubtless does every one here present—in regretting that the percentage *is* so small; but it can never be much larger—unless indeed some strange

power should ever succeed in turning our old Modern History Course into a technical school for historians—technical in the sense that the education here in Medicine or Forestry is technical. I should myself—as I have said before—deplore any such transformation, holding as I do that the School is discharging a more generally useful function as it stands at present, than it would if it were equipped with a severely specialistic curriculum, intended only for those who were destined for the career of researchers in or teachers of history. Clearly a School reconstructed on such lines would cease to attract some four-fifths of those who at present enter for it. It would be a wholly different affair.

Now there are some few of these young gentlemen whom we have at present to teach, whom I should be quite contented to evict; they read Modern History not because they have any vocation for its study, or any special interest in it, but simply and solely because their college compels them to offer *some* Honour School, and they hope to find this one rather less rebarbative than Law or Mathematics, Theology or Physical Science. These men, Passmen *φύσει*, Honour-men by external compulsion, are a nuisance to their tutors; it is heart-breaking to harangue them for forty minutes as they loll listless, after delivering their perfunctory weekly essay. They are a nuisance to the examiner, who sits doubting wearily whether he shall give them a 'group' or two, or simply relegate them to the limbo of *non satis*. They are ultimately a nuisance to the college which has unwisely forced them to take honours, since they are thrown back upon it in October, to take some sort of a pass—to the complete upsetting of tutorial arrangements.

But setting aside the 30 or 40 men a year who ought

not to have appeared in the Modern History School at all, we have a remainder of from 140 to 160 undergraduates, of whom only some ten or a dozen have any intention either of taking up historical teaching or of engaging in original research. The remainder are destined to the most various careers: some will become members of Parliament or diplomatists, many will be civil servants, some will take Holy Orders, others will be journalists, literary men, business men, barristers, schoolmasters, and what not. To all such a sound general knowledge of history—with the elements of economic history, political science, political geography, constitutional history—will be invaluable. Palaeography, the so-called 'study of methods of investigation', and all the *Hilfswissenschaften* will be of comparatively little use. And—for here comes the difficulty—if the technical subjects are introduced, it can only be at the cost of teaching less of the general subjects. For the student's time during the two years that he has to devote to the Modern History School is quite sufficiently occupied by the present curriculum. New matter can only be introduced by evicting some of the old matter, or teaching it in a less thorough and solid fashion. Is there any section of the present prescribed work which we should like to cut down to any appreciable extent? I mean to cut down to such an extent that the time saved on it would be sufficient to allow of the introduction of several new elements—such as palaeography—into the curriculum. Personally I might be desirous of paying a little less attention to early constitutional antiquities than is done at present. But I must confess that if I was permitted to economize on that point, it would only be with the desire of increasing the quantity of foreign history required. The present

periods seem to me too short, and the men should be compelled to read them not in English manuals but in the great foreign historians. To my poor apprehension the real blot on the School is not the one that has been alleged, but the want of any provision that the student shall have some grip of several foreign languages. At present Latin is the only tongue with which he is compelled to show some acquaintance. Scores of men every year escape any touch with French, German, or Italian by offering those two special subjects—India and the Great Rebellion—where all the prescribed books are in English. And even of Latin the amount required is so small that a man may obtain a first class without being able to translate a simple Classical author with reasonable accuracy. I speak of this from personal experience. Nothing, therefore, can be more cheering than the news that the Hebdomadal Council is just about to bring forward a statute enabling us to make a knowledge of modern languages compulsory on all our candidates.

But I must not wander from the point which I am now engaged in urging. It seems to me that we must frankly recognize that the Modern History curriculum must be drawn up rather with an eye to the vast majority of men who seek in it a general liberal education, than to the small minority to whom a technical training in historiography might conceivably be more profitable. And further, I think that even for this minority the present School is an excellent base for their later studies, and a base with which they cannot dispense. For of all things the most necessary for the researcher is a very broad knowledge of the general trend of history far outside the limits of his special period. Unless he has this, he risks making the

wildest and most absurd errors the moment that he tries to draw a comparison between epoch and epoch, or to illustrate his thesis by parallels from another age or another country. The scientifically trained continental historian is as liable to this as the most self-taught English local antiquary. May I give an illustration? Seignebos's *Europe Contemporaine* is an oft-quoted authority, yet drawing a moral from English Politics and mentioning the Adullamites of 1866, he (for want of a little Scripture history) solemnly adds, 'Adullamites, allusion Biblique, assassins—parce qu'Adullam a voulu tuer David.' And did not the almost infallible Mommsen, trespassing, for once in a way, into ground where he was insufficiently informed, note in one of his chapters on the Roman Empire that the Welsh tongue is to-day spoken in Cumberland and Westmoreland?

If such men can write such strange errors, what are we to expect from the Oxford researcher, if we let him off any appreciable portion of his study of the general foundations of history, in order that he may substitute technical and specialistic knowledge of the epoch in which he is interested? I would have no man permitted to undertake any original work until he has acquired a very broad as well as a very sound knowledge of the general outlines of history, and this is what I maintain that our present Modern History School—with all its defects—does on the whole give us. But —say some—granted that the School may put those who study it honestly in possession of a vast mass of facts, it yet does not furnish them with *method*, with the art of turning all those facts to logical account. Here I venture to differ: there are parts of the curriculum which seem to me to be precisely calculated

to have the desired effect on all the better minds that are brought into contact with them. If a man cannot pick up the art of weighing and comparing facts and theories from studying his Aristotle and his Maine, his Hobbes, his Maitland and his Stubbs, he will not pick it up from any lectures on method. If he can read all the prescribed books for his special subject without learning how to compare sources and evaluate their worth; if he can peruse Clarendon and Ludlow, Baillie and Cromwell's Speeches; or again, if he can read James Mill with the dispatches of Warren Hastings and Wellesley, or Boha-ed-din alongside of the *Itinerarium Ricardi*, without learning automatically the elements of historical criticism—then he is not a person about whom we need bother our heads at all. He will never make a historian, though you drive 'method' into him with a hammer.

In short, the true historian—and here lies the gist of my creed—is born and not made. If he has the root of the matter in him, he gets precisely such a preliminary education from his schools as will enable him to work for himself when his schools are over. Of course if his tastes are mediaeval he will have to learn palaeography afterwards; but this is a small matter. Do we not possess an admirable teacher in that subject, though we pay him too little, and do not even enable him to lecture all the year round? But as to the rest, it seems to me that the one counsel that can be given to the man who has achieved his first class for the Schools and then wishes to set sail into the ocean of Research, is simply to work—and work—and work again. He will think many hours wasted—they are not really so: a negative result is often as valuable as (though less exciting than) a positive one. In the

search, too, for what you do not find, you will often come upon material which will be invaluable to you in some later exploration ten years hence. Every queer corner explored, every abandoned shaft sunk into some unfruitful stratum, has really been part of our training. It is only what we have found for ourselves that really lives for us: second-hand knowledge is useful for the general enquirer, for the 'man in the Schools'—it can be taught and well taught. First-hand knowledge is unteachable—it must be learnt for oneself—not from the lecture of the man who has 'been there before'. I hate to hear the historical beginner whining that he cannot go out into the world of history and find everything already ticketed and docketed and done up into neat parcels, ready for his immediate use. His moan is merely like that of the stupid undergraduate who comes back to you to complain that he can find nowhere in print the comparison between the strategy of Napoleon Bonaparte and of Frederic the Great which you have set him for an essay. If history could be automatically constructed, by putting before the student perfect bibliographies, from which he could find every possible fact that he could require, it would be (to my mind) a dreary business. Fortunately this danger is solving itself—bibliographies on some subjects have grown so enormous that they have become a hindrance rather than a help: what good is it to have 700 titles of monographs, of all varieties of intrinsic value and accessibility, flung in your face?

In short, it seems to me that zeal, insatiable curiosity, a ready mind to shape hypotheses, a sound judgement to test them, above all a dogged determination to work at all times and in all places, are the real requisites of the historian rather than any array of technical training.

The very best of our own English work has always been done in that fashion, and I think that it will continue so to be done. The sanity and energy and ingenuity of the researcher is the main thing that matters. If he is worth his salt, he will teach himself 'method' in a very short time. Nothing astonishes me more than the way in which the real born historian learns to get to the heart of a matter within a year or so of starting work—and as to the man who is not born to the trade, it is mistaken kindness to encourage him to turn to a career for which he is not mentally equipped.

But it being granted that we have obtained the right man, with the requisite energy, zeal, and preliminary education, there are still two notes of caution which have to be struck if we are to get really fruitful work out of him. The one is obvious, the other much less so. The first is that the would-be historian must avoid vague sporadic and ill-defined aims, which enable him to wander over vast and miscellaneous fields of research, absorbing masses of material of such heterogeneous kinds that they never get digested, and never arrive at the dignity of print. If any work is ever really wasted in the world, it is that of the man who makes himself a sort of walking encyclopaedia, and then dies without having produced a single book. His knowledge perishes with him, and the facts which he has collected have to be reconquered by some successor, because he has never deigned to commit them to paper. Every one of us has known such men—but perhaps I may be permitted to speak for a moment of the king of them all. I name him with infinite respect: he was in some ways a great man, and he might have been a great historian. He started to read history early, he was

granted a long life, he had ample leisure, he was able to collect such a library of its kind as England had never before seen. And he died leaving as his life's achievement a lecture or two, and a number of reviews and short papers scattered about in the back numbers of more or less unobtainable periodicals, together with a scheme for a modern history which (though excellent in itself) has certainly not been carried out on the lines which he laid down. This heart-breaking paucity of results from a man qualified to do great things seems to me to have proceeded mainly from the cardinal defect of the want of a definite clear-cut thesis. Lord Acton had a great book hovering before his mind: what it was I have never made out: his literary executor, Mr. John Morley, once told me that he fancied that its subject was the Growth of the Modern Idea of Liberty: but two or three alternative and equally vast titles have been suggested. Whatever it was, its compilation necessitated the accumulation of such a mass of detailed material that no single human brain could possibly deal with it. I went down into Shropshire to look at that famous library before it was removed to Cambridge: never was there such a pathetic sight of wasted labour. The owner had read it all: there were shelves on shelves on every conceivable subject—Renaissance sorcery—the Fueros of Aragon—Scholastic Philosophy—the growth of the French Navy—American exploration—Church Councils—and many books were full of hundreds of cross-references in pencil, noting passages as bearing on some particular development or evolution in modern life or thought. There were pigeon-holed cabinets with literally thousands of compartments, into each of which were sorted scores of little white papers with references to some particular topic, so drawn up (as far as I could

judge) that no one but the compiler could easily make out the drift of the section. Arranged in the middle of the long two-storied room was a sort of altar or column composed entirely of unopened parcels of new books from continental publishers. They were apparently coming in at the rate of ten or fifteen books a week, and the owner had evidently tried to keep pace with the accumulation—to digest and annotate them all, and work them into his vast thesis—whatever it was. For years apparently he must have been engaged on this Sisyphean task. Over all these were brown holland sheets, a thick coating of dust, the motes dancing in the pale September sun, a faint aroma of mustiness proceeding from thousands of seventeenth and eighteenth century leather bindings in a room that had been locked up since its owner's death. I never saw any sight which so much impressed on me the vanity of human life. A quarter of the work that had been spent on making those annotations and filling those pigeon-holes would have produced twenty volumes of good history—perhaps an epoch-making book that might have lived for centuries. But all the labour had been wasted—save so far as the actual accumulation of the dead books was a permanent gain to Cambridge—because the accumulator had too vague and too broad an aim. It is better to have produced one solid monograph on the minutest point—better to have edited a single pipe-roll or annotated a single short chronicle—than to have accumulated for forty years unwritten learning that goes down to the grave and is lost. And I said to myself—Learn to be definite at all costs; be limited, if it is necessary, stick to a single century if it must be so, or to a single reign, but write something—knowledge not committed to paper is knowledge lost.

This moral may seem to some of you to be a mere 'occasional glimpse of the obvious', such as may occur to the meanest mind. Not so, I think, the second caution that I would give to all who intend to make history the mistress of their life. It is this, that 'the best', the ideal, the vision of the epoch-making and infallible *magnum opus* which hovers before the mind of many a would-be writer, is the enemy of 'the good', of the useful and worthy, but comparatively unambitious, book that he is really competent to write. Do not be led away by megalomania: do not think that you can possibly write a book without mistakes: the man who imagines that he can do so will probably never write a book at all. The great Turenne once remarked that 'the general who has made no errors in strategy must have commanded in uncommonly few campaigns', and hinted that he did not believe that general to exist. It is the same with the writer of history: he must make up his mind that, however hard he may strive for absolute accuracy, it is certain that there will be errors of detail somewhere—perhaps errors of more than detail. But he should not for that reason shrink back from production; I have known books hung up for years because the author had not the heart to confess himself fallible. Nothing is a more subtle and deadly enemy of the writing of a good book than a great reputation already won without any literary output. The man who has achieved such a reputation dreads committing himself to print, from an exaggerated fear of being detected in error: such a feeling often grows into actual monomania, and one who could have done good work dies bookless, because he hated the idea of seeing his limitations revealed to the world by some captious critic.

This is not the spirit in which the true historian must

approach his life's work; he must realize that the competent labourer who refuses his co-operation in the great task of reaping the harvest of the past—the harvest that is so great while the labourers are still so few—is sinning against the light. We stand at present in a crisis when the raw material has accumulated in such masses that there is a most pressing want of hands to sort and arrange it. To stand by idle, because you feel that some of your work may prove of no more than temporary worth, because your *amour propre* revolts against the notion that you may be building a scaffolding rather than a permanent structure, is deplorable. By setting forth a hypothesis that may turn out to be only half true, by formulating a thesis that requires indefinite modification, we may serve the cause of history far better than by refusing to put anything on paper that is not absolutely certain, complete, and undeniable. It is only the shallowest fool among critics who contemns the pioneer in any line of research for not having achieved absolute accuracy. Columbus when discovering America wrongly believed that he had reached the Indies: is his service to geography to be ignored or derided because his discovery was made while pursuing a hypothesis that was partly false? The world greatly needs Columbuses; it has no such pressing need for the critic, incapable of forming a bold hypothesis himself, who exists only to point out *ex post facto* small errors in the work of those who have gone before him. Yet I would be far from denying that the critic has his uses too; it is certainly far better to have set right even a dozen minute mistakes in other men's books than to have remained altogether dumb. If one cannot be the pioneer, one can at least do unostentatious work as the navvy who makes smooth the path which the pioneer has discovered.

It matters little what the particular line may be that we take up, so long as we take up some line. There are many before me to-day, admirably competent to set to work to build up some particular corner in the vast gap of unwritten history that shames us all. Work while you may, and where you may. Why have we no real history of mediaeval Scotland—why is there in English no standard general history of Holland, of Hungary, of Norway, of Portugal, even of modern Germany? Why are there still important English Chronicles that have not been reprinted since the early eighteenth century, and others that have not been printed at all? Is it not maddening to think of the vast unsorted bulk of local records and documents? There is work for the man who can summarize and digest existing material, no less than for the man who is intent on making fresh discoveries. Indeed the former is perhaps the more needed of the two at the present moment. Many may urge want of leisure—but surely if there is not leisure for a great there is leisure for a small piece of work. If we cannot write a large book we may write a little one: if even a little book is too much to ask, is there not some small piece of editing or commentary that would have its worth? It may be an unremunerative piece of work, it may be an obscure piece of work, it may even be an uninteresting piece of work, that is incumbent on the individual; but surely every trained specialist owes 'his stone to the cairn'. We have the largest, and as we boast, the best school of history in the realm: must we not each do our best to make it as productive as it is popular, and as solid in its practical results as it is philosophic in its structure?

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THE TEACHING OF INDIAN HISTORY

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE

(JANUARY 20, 1914)

BY

WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D.

READER IN INDIAN HISTORY IN THE

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY

My Dear Lord,

It was probably as great a surprise to you as it was to me that the electors should ask me to accept the post of Reader in Indian History. You had nothing whatever to do with that; but you have a great deal to do with its first result, for I have quoted many words of yours in this inaugural lecture, which I now offer for your acceptance. I had read Indian History for many years when I had the opportunity of seeing it in the making under your devoted and far-sighted rule. What I saw and heard then and what I have read since has made me understand something of what India owes to you, a debt which I am confident will be recognized more and more fully as the years go on. Oxford has given many of her sons to the service of India. I think that she will give many more. But she has never given, and I do not think she can give, any one with mind and heart more devoted to that service than yours have been. It is such as you who have given to Indian history the fascination which it exercises, as I believe, increasingly, upon Western students and Western workers.

I am,

Your lordship's faithful servant and kinsman,

W. H. HUTTON.

BRITISH INDIA

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE

When I was invited to take up the work which I begin to-day, it was only the advice of those whose judgement I was bound to accept which made me feel that I must not regard myself as altogether unequal to the task. But there was one encouragement which I speedily received which has given me hope that I may be able to discharge my duties not wholly inadequately: it is the intimation that if the choice had rested with my honoured predecessor, the first holder of this office, who was my first teacher in history, and remained my constant friend, he would have chosen me to carry on the work which had been the delight of his life for so many years. I cannot begin the words I have to say this afternoon better than by a brief record of the distinguished teacher whom I have been called upon to succeed.

Sidney James Owen, the fourth son of Henry Owen, a solicitor at Worksop, was born on December 30, 1827. His chief school was Repton, his Oxford College Worcester, his degree a third class in Literis Humanioribus. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. For two years he was a Fellow (as it was then called) at Radley. In 1856 he went out to India as Professor of History and Political Economy at Elphinstone College, Bombay, a foundation which has had many distinguished teachers on its staff. Ill health compelled him to return to England after two years, and he came to Christ Church in 1861 as Lee's Reader in Law and

History, combining with that post the teaching of history at Magdalen and at Radley. He began his long association with Indian studies in this University on his appointment as Reader in Indian Law in 1864. In 1868 Indian History was added to the subjects he was required to teach. In 1878 the subject of Law was withdrawn and Mr. Owen was appointed Reader in Indian History for life. He was elected a Student of Christ Church in 1883. He carried on his work, with unfailing zeal, almost to the last. He died on November 22, 1912.

I suppose that the three things by which he will best be remembered among us are his great knowledge, his great enthusiasm, his great kindness. No one who knew him could be ignorant of any of the three. He belonged to the period when men really had a liberal education; he had taken full advantage of it; and he continued to educate himself to the last. And all that he learnt was made vivid in his mind by his intense, almost fiery, enthusiasm. When he was imparting knowledge he seemed always to be at a white heat, and the reason of that most certainly was that to him education was not merely an intellectual but a moral process. Like Lord Acton, he abhorred the notion that because something had happened in the past we were to speak quite differently of it than we should have spoken if it had happened to-day, that we should not say whether an action, or a policy, was right or wrong, because it was long gone by. But his own eager moral feeling, if it carried him through history as a judge, made him in common life a most sympathetic friend. There was nothing in human character, any more than in human achievement, which did not interest him. He was anxious to understand, anxious to help, reluctant to

condemn. It was that which made him the friend of his pupils no less than the friend of the great historical scholars among whom he first began to teach in Oxford. He belonged to the Age of Oxford historians, but he survived them all—Stubbs and Freeman, whose letters are full of him and with whom his friendship was very close—Green and Creighton, whom also he knew well—York Powell, first his pupil, then his colleague. One of that great Age remains, and he has written to me some words which express with his own masterly precision and generous sympathy what the first Reader in Indian History was, forty years ago, in Oxford:

'I had never the good fortune to attend Sidney Owen's lectures, but used often to hear a great deal from his pupils about their freshness and power. The same eagerness of mind and warmth of feeling which made him a conspicuous and attractive social figure among the younger teachers of Oxford in the sixties, endeared him to the members of his class and gave him a hold upon them. He had brought back from India a keen interest in its peoples and their history. They had touched his imagination. They were real and vivid to him; and, being a widely read man before he went there, he had been able to compare Eastern things with Western, and to discover illuminative analogies.

'Lecturing was in those days less of an art than it has since become; and there were few in Oxford, perhaps no one till the late Bishop of London began to lecture at Merton, who had made Modern History so interesting as W. L. Newman at Balliol had made Ancient History. Owen was one of the pioneers. He roused the minds of his pupils and communicated to them something of his own enthusiastic pleasure in Indian things and in history itself as a study. He had an ardent as well as a loveable nature.'

If I venture to add to what Lord Bryce has written, it

is only that I may record the impression of a later date. When I first knew him, and to the end, Mr. Owen was a lecturer of extraordinary vigour and rapidity; his mass of knowledge, his facility of illustration from unconventional as well as the most recondite sources, seemed to struggle for precedence as he spoke, and the torrent of his eloquence (he really was eloquent and it really was a torrent) at times reduced his hearers almost to stupefaction. But he had the supreme virtues of a lecturer: he always knew his subject thoroughly, far beyond the knowledge of any who heard him, and he could never by any possibility be dull.

The precision which was sometimes wanting in his spoken teaching was never absent from his literary work. He had a style which was formed not, like much of our modern historical writing, on the examples of journalistic freedom, but on reverend and classic models. He was, if I am not mistaken, a great admirer of Hooker: he was certainly a constant reader of Macaulay and Carlyle. There was something in his own manner of writing which can be traced to these apparently inconsistent and incongruous origins. There was more which was characteristically his own, the reflection of his own way of thinking out problems and expressing conclusions: the manner of his speech, in fact, if he had time to revise it and write it down. It was clear, emphatic, somewhat *flamboyant*, eminently sonorous. His published lectures have above all the mark of lucidity and vigour. His book, *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, the work of his old age (the copy he gave me is dated March 13, 1912) has all the vigour of his earlier work, the appreciation of dramatic incident, the vivacity of narration, the interest in character and romance. I cannot but regret that several of his earlier lectures

and papers, privately issued, have never been reprinted. But probably his most enduring and valuable contribution to the history of India is to be found in the Introductions he prefixed to his two volumes of selections from the Despatches of the Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, which those who are most familiar with the State papers of the great viceroy and the great soldier best know to be masterly analyses and expositions of documents and policies, in their origin, their meaning, and their results. In those two volumes, happily still studied in our University, the first Reader in Indian History rendered a signal service to students of British aims and achievements in the East. For that, as for very much else, his name deserves to be held in honour among us. *Requiescat in pace.*

I have few of the qualifications for my task which belonged to Mr. Owen. I have neither his wide knowledge nor his great memory. In one thing only can I profess to resemble him : a keen interest in the history of all ages, and races, and religions ; and in one thing only to be his equal: a passionate belief in the great qualities of the Indian peoples and in the justice and devotion of their British rulers and servants.

There is a great field to-day, a great opportunity, for those who will study the history of British rule in India. How is the study to be undertaken, and in what spirit is it to be pursued ? Many of our own historical scholars have given us here, and when they left Oxford to direct the historical teaching of other Universities, the answer. But may I take the reply from the great scholar whose inaugural lecture at Cambridge was so remarkable a picture of his method—that impressive figure among the leaders of historical learning, of whom it may be said that there was no one of all the men of the Victorian

age (of those who wrote at all) who wrote so little and knew so much? Ranke, said Lord Acton in that famous lecture, had taught historians 'to be critical, to be colourless, and to be new'; and this is clearly what Acton regarded as the ideal for the historian. The statement, I cannot forbear to say in passing, is not wholly true of Ranke, for certainly he was not colourless. His work, for example, on the seventeenth century, in style as well as method, has just that colour which S. R. Gardiner's conspicuously lacks. Of Acton also it is not wholly true, if we are to judge by his published lectures. They are critical and colourless, but certainly they are not new. The great historical professor had little historical imagination, more insight perhaps, but a vast historical memory. So when it came to writing history he was overwhelmed by his accumulation of knowledge. The mass of his notes to his inaugural lecture is a depressing spectacle, not because of its size, but because of its absence of judgement in selection. He quoted a number of the most worthless books, of the most obscure pamphlets, simply because they happened to say something that he wanted to say, and he was too honest not to proclaim that it had been said before. Really, Professor Bury's inaugural lecture, in spite of what some (rather wilfully) consider its wrong-headedness, and Professor Oman's, in spite of what others (very foolishly) regard as its robust Philistinism, have done more to put a true view of history before us than all the elaborations of Lord Acton's famous pronouncement. But behind that comparative failure lies the truest success in expressing what is the ideal which every historical student should set before his eyes. The strength of that lecture lies in the emphatic assertion of moral principle. Right and

wrong are real distinctions; or, as Burke says, 'the principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged.' Lord Acton concluded his fine declaration of belief with the statement that we could be more impersonal, disinterested, and just than the historians of former ages; and so it is in our power 'to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing this in mind, that if we lower our standard in history we cannot uphold it in Church or State.' To have said this, and, still more, to have borne it always in mind when he wrote, was the true glory of Lord Acton as a historian; and it is that lesson of a life of stupendous knowledge which he has left to the world of students of a later day. That is the great warning, never more needed than in the study of British India. If we lower our standard in history we cannot uphold it in the work which lies before us as a nation still to do.

When it was announced that I had been appointed to the Readership in Indian History, not a few of those who congratulated me said, in almost the same words, 'What a dull subject!' Dull! I cannot conceive any epithet more inappropriate or unjust. The History of British conquest and government of India (for to that the subject of this Readership is now restricted) is full—fuller almost than any history we know—of excitement and romance. Nowhere have greater deeds been done, nowhere greater sacrifices made, nowhere have more noble and strenuous lives been lived, nowhere more devotion shown by rulers to those submitted to their sway. Nowhere have the characteristic glories of great soldiers, great administrators, economists, legists, saints, been more fully displayed. And that splendid

story (for such, with all its stains, it is) is still continuing to-day. The same qualities which won India for England are still being shown, and the story which has been so full of danger, and devotion, and glory, is still being acted, in unbroken sequence, before our eyes. I say, with no shadow of hesitation, that there never has been a finer tale, never a greater record of man's prowess and sagacity, than that of the peoples of West and East whose interaction in the great Indian peninsula during the last three hundred years I am called upon to elucidate and expound.

What English historians have done in the last half-century to advance our knowledge of this history has not been unworthy of the progress that they have made in other spheres. I do not speak of the histories of the Mutiny, or of times more recent still, of the series which our own Press has produced, in which some of the ablest and most distinguished of Victorian administrators have described and judged, from a full knowledge, and frequently after a laborious research which has not been adequately recognized, the careers of the British and native rulers of India—though I need not fear to say that one of the best services which our University has rendered to India was given when men like Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Auckland Colvin, and Sir Charles Aitcheson, not to mention that modest and gallant soldier, Sir Owen Burne, were induced to tell the stories of those whose careers they had studied with special opportunity and had often a unique capacity to record. Nor do I speak of the fine effort made by Sir William Hunter, whose contagious enthusiasm stirred many in Oxford to work for the increase of our knowledge of things and persons Indian. I do not speak of Sir William's own excellent History of India, for he

wrote hardly more than enough to show how ably he had planned and how thoroughly he had provided for the execution of his design. It is now in the highly competent hands of Mr. P. E. Roberts, another of our Oxford students of Indian history, from whom we are justified in expecting great things. I would rather select one conspicuous instance of a distinct service to historical truth, an important historical rectification, which has been rendered during the last few years.

Within twenty miles of where I stand to-day there rests all that was mortal of one of the very greatest men England ever gave to the service of India. It is not yet a hundred years ago since Warren Hastings died. Much that belonged to him is still as he left it. You may walk in the large conservatories that he built at Daylesford to remind him of the climate of Bengal, or sleep under the lofty dome with its oriental decoration which marks one of the bedrooms in his house as his own design. You may handle, in a house still nearer to Oxford, the very letters which he wrote to his 'adored Marian', during the rising at Benares, when he was in imminent danger of a violent death, as calmly as if he sat in his Council Chamber at Fort William, little rolls of thinnest paper, carried, at the risk of their lives, by natives who, like almost every one who knew him, were devoted to his service. And at Oxford, as well as at Worton, are portraits by which the greatest painters of his time have enabled us to see what manner of man the heroic statesman was. Thirty years ago the obloquy which had rested on him for the last thirty years of his life still clung to his memory. 'He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man.' We all remember the words, at the critical point in Macaulay's famous description of Warren Hastings on his trial.

And now we know, as Macaulay might have known if he had taken the trouble to learn, and as James Mill before him might have learned if he had not been blinded by prejudice and party passion, that Hastings was *not* a bad man, but that he was not only among the greatest, but among the best of the distinguished public servants whose roll is an honour to the British name. The vindication was begun years ago, and Sir John Strachey, in *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, Sir James Stephen, in *Nuncomar and Impey*, Sir G. W. Forrest, in his publication of the Bengal documents of Hastings's administration, had their part in making it. Sir George Forrest, in publishing his *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors General of India—Warren Hastings*—prefixed to it the excellent study of Hastings's administration which he had already twice issued in India. This is in many respects the most complete and most convincing vindication which that great statesman has received. What these writers had garnered was utilized in biographical studies by Sir Alfred Lyall, Captain Trotter, and Colonel Malleson. But the career of Hastings needed to be studied not only on its political, but on its personal side. This was done by Sir Charles Lawson in the paper, expanded from one in the *Madras Mail*, which he published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* in July, 1892, which after three years became in book form a substantial and excellent biography. Ten years later the able writer who calls herself 'Sydney Grier' came to complete the work by the publication of the deeply interesting personal letters which had so long lain neglected in the British Museum.[1] These were not in the hands of Gleig at

[1] *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife.* Transcribed in full

the time when he was writing the 'big bad book' which Macaulay so unfairly condemned. They are of very high political and of still greater personal value. In the first place, they elucidate many difficult points in the political work of Hastings between 1780 and 1785, especially after the return of Mrs. Hastings to England. Secondly, they enable us to form a more complete estimate of the worth of Hastings as a man. They are full of intimate details as to his personal interests, his love of books and gardens, his abounding generosity, his charitable judgement even of bitter opponents, his deep religious feeling. The work of editing was done with very remarkable care, and with very wide knowledge. The result is the best biography of Hastings, at least as to some fifteen years of his life, that we possess. It is a book which throws abundant light on the beginnings of British rule in India, the aims of the rulers, the social life of the British exiles, the religion and manners of the conquering race. The new light on English politics in general, and on the career of a very large number of public servants, undistinguished as well as famous, is hardly less welcome.

We are now within measurable distance of being able to write an authentic history of the first years of our rule in India under Lord North's Regulating Act. That history would be concerned with almost the whole of the vast peninsula, for Hastings's political and military schemes extended from Delhi to Lhasa, from Goa to the frontiers of the South-East, and there was nothing too minute for his investigation and interest. A whole volume might be written on the friendships of

from the Originals in the British Museum. Introduced and Annotated by Sydney C. Grier. (Blackwoods, 1905).

Hastings, and it would be full of most interesting side-lights on the lives of almost all the great lawyers and men of letters of his time. A study almost equally interesting might be made of his residences in India, one of which was acquired by Lord Curzon on behalf of the Government of India, while another, in its present state, was described not long ago by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review.*

It is much to be hoped that the details of the life of Hastings may be still further studied. There is much to be found in the letters and diaries now at Nether Worton House. There is still good work to be done in tracing more minutely the relations of Hastings with Cornwallis and Wellesley—his letter to the latter, printed in the *Rulers of India* Life of the great Marquess, is of great interest—his opinions of Sir George Barlow and later governors; and in illustrating his intimate knowledge of Indian life and conditions. One cannot help observing how far more just was his appreciation of Indian literatures, about which he corresponded with Dr. Johnson, than the insolent vandalism of Macaulay. A monograph of real value might also be written on the various portraits of Hastings.

But I have said enough to illustrate, by what is indeed a familiar instance, what has been done in recent years to make the history of British India better known. Let me add that there is no period of Anglo-Indian history which does not need much further elucidation. And certainly there is none which will not repay the labour. Mr. Fortescue has shown how much new light can be thrown by an expert on the military history of our conquest and occupation. Admiral Mahan has shown the way towards further investigation of our naval affairs. Books like Dr. Busteed's *Old Calcutta* show

how fascinating are the bypaths of social history. Those who take special interest in the romance of biography and character may like to follow up the interest suggested by such stories as those of Madame Grand, whose association with Philip Francis caused so much scandal in Calcutta, and who lived to be the wife of Talleyrand and Princess of Benevento, or of Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte[1] who, when he was a sergeant serving in India with Bussy, was taken prisoner by Hanoverian troops in the English service at the siege

[1] 'Among the wounded prisoners was a young French serjeant, who so particularly attracted the notice of Colonel Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service, by his interesting appearance and manners, that he ordered the young man to be conveyed to his own tents, where he was treated with attention and kindness until his recovery and release. Many years afterwards, when the French army under Bernadotte entered Hanover, General Wangenheim, among others, attended the levée of the conqueror. "You have served a great deal," said Bernadotte, on his being presented, "and as I understand in India." "I have served there." "At Cuddalore?" "I was there." "Have you any recollection of a wounded serjeant whom you took under your protection in the course of that service?" The circumstance was not immediately present to the General's mind, but on recollection, he resumed, "I do indeed remember the circumstance, and a very fine young man he was; I have entirely lost sight of him ever since, but it would give me pleasure to hear of his welfare." "That young serjeant," said Bernadotte, "was the person who has now the honour to address you, who is happy in this public opportunity of acknowledging the obligation, and will omit no means within his power of testifying his gratitude to General Wangenheim."

'It can scarcely be deemed digressive to have presented the sequel of an incident appertaining to our narrative, in illustration of a character since distinguished by a still more extraordinary elevation, and as an evidence of moral worth affording to the Crown Prince of Sweden an honourable claim on other nations for the respect which he is said to possess in his adoptive country.'—Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (*History of Mysore*), vol. ii, p. 442.

of Cuddalore, and survived to be Prince of Ponte Corvo and die as Charles XIV of Sweden.

There are many incidents as curious in the story of British adventurers in India which Mr. Keene sketched in his *Hindustan Under Free Lances.* Indian military history is in itself a special study, and it is one that is full of romance. But in India it is also true indeed that civil life has as deep an interest, and that

> Peace hath her victories
> No less renown'd than war.

Those who have read the story of English achievement in the past do not wonder that there have been many lads like young Tom Newcome. 'The boy had a great fancy for India; and Orme's *History*, containing the exploits of Clive and Lawrence, was his favourite book of all in his father's library.' Since Thackeray wrote there is a score of books to take precedence of old Orme; and there may be, there ought to be, many more to come. Our Regius Professor complained in his Inaugural Lecture nine years ago that the Modern History School 'does not train men capable of adding to knowledge. It produces very few historians.' That is specially true of workers at Indian History; but there is no reason at all why it should remain true. Nowhere is there a more fruitful field waiting for tillage; and I for one believe that the good training of the History School, if it does not become too specialist and minute, should admirably fit men to enter upon it. There is a great mass of documents at the India Office illustrating every period of the British connexion with India. Among the guides to these of especial interest I may mention the List of Factory Records of the East India Company, with Mr. F. C. Danvers's excellent introduction (1897), the

List of Marine Records, similarly introduced (1896) and the List of General Records from 1599 to 1879 (1902). On the India Office MSS. we eagerly await the Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records. Besides the mass at the India Office there are almost as many at the British Museum and in private hands. There are abundant records at Calcutta and Bombay, of which Sir George Forrest and his followers have opened the door to us, and at Madras, among which (as I know from the provisional issue of a portion of the Calendar which was sent to me a year ago) Mr. Dodwell, himself one of our 'History men', and a pupil of my own, is doing most admirable work. There are the almost untapped materials for the history of the native States, which Indian scholars have already begun to use. There are many English scholars who have done important service among public and private manuscripts: Dr. C. R. Wilson, whose good work among the records of eighteenth-century India I first saw when it was my good fortune to examine him here for his degrees in Letters, whose death was a severe loss to historical investigation; Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in* 1756-7 (*Indian Records Series*); Miss Sainsbury and Mr. W. Foster, C. I. E., whose Calendars of the Minutes of the East India Company and work on the Factories are full of most valuable information as to the early history of the English in India; and not a few others. But the field has still space for very many more labourers; and my experience of work among the MSS. at the India Office certainly shows me that research is well rewarded. Nor need it be narrowed as my work is narrowed. I have said that the Reader is now restricted, in the scope of his duties, to the British occupation. He is instructed by statute to lecture on 'The Rise, Growth, and Organization of the British Power in India'. This

leads me to say what I think very much needs saying to-day. It is a grievous weakness in the University's provision for learning that there is nothing done for the study of Indian history in ancient and medieval times. I should like to direct the attention of those who have the control of the Chancellor's Fund to this strange omission. A period of the world's history of extraordinary interest and of really enormous importance is entirely neglected in our provision for learning, education, and research. It is true that we have distinguished scholars who have from time to time dealt with a part of this subject, such as Professor Macdonell and Mr. Vincent Smith; but the former has already a subject so wide that only his knowledge and energy could adequately deal with it, while the latter has, I deeply regret to say, no official position in our midst.

Purely Indian history, with its literature and philosophy, Indian geography, historical and descriptive (except so far as I am told to deal with it)—a subject of extraordinary fascination in itself—Indian archaeology, are unprovided for in this University. In spite of the generosity which created, and has from time to time enriched, the Indian Institute, it still fails to play the important part it might play, and was intended to play, in the education of Oxford. What the Chancellor of the University said in 1909 is, I am afraid, still true.[1]

'The Institute has not in any appreciable degree provided a meeting-ground for the East and West, or a place of social intercourse between English and Indian students. Its Museum has failed "to bring together a typical collection of objects suited to educational purposes and sufficiently complete to give a fair idea of the industrial occupations, domestic and religious customs

[1] *Principles and Methods of University Reform*, pp. 208–9.

of the people subject to our rule"; or "to present a fair epitome of India, eminently attractive not only to Indologists, but to ethnologists and anthropologists of all nationalities."[1] The scheme of constant lectures by distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators and Orientalists, which started under happy auspices, has fallen into desuetude. The Institute possesses no permanent endowment, and is ill provided in respect of staff and attendance, besides being quite unable to extend its sphere of influence.'

I believe that this is largely due to the fact that we have still left unheeded the declaration of the greatest of Oxford historians, made so long ago as 1876, when Mr. Sidney Owen had been teaching Indian history in Oxford for eight years. 'At the present moment we want,' then said the Regius Professor of Modern History (after proclaiming another need which is still, as I think most disastrously, unsatisfied),

'We want a permanent chair of Indian History. The labours of our friend the present Indian Reader have shown us how thoroughly that study, the importance of which can scarcely be over-rated by Englishmen, falls in with the current of our University work. I say a permanent chair, because that is a subject of permanent necessity, not a subject like palaeography or numismatology, in which the labours of one good professor may serve for two or three generations, and the endowment of the man is of equal importance with the endowment of the chair or study.'[2]

That demand of Dr. Stubbs, made nearly forty years ago, is not yet met. I appeal to those whose interest in India is real, who desire that her history should be fully

[1] Speeches of Sir M. Monier-Williams.

[2] *Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History, 1867–84.* By William Stubbs, D.D. [1886].

known and rightly understood, who desire that she should be recognized in her greatness among the nations, to Indian princes, and to Europeans who have made fortunes in India, to provide for the creation of a Professorship of Indian History in the University which is already so closely linked, and could be linked more closely, to the Indian Empire.

The importance of the subject indeed 'can hardly be over-rated by Englishmen', and our duty has not been done till permanent provision has been made in Oxford not only for a Reader in the History of British India but for a Professor who shall be worthy to teach the history of that great Empire, of those noble races and nations of which we have been called, so late in the world's long life, to be the heirs and successors. Some of those great names, charged with immemorial history, still survive. When we recall this fact, it is well to remind the critics of British rule of what is too often forgotten, that the English did not destroy national governments or organized political institutions. Where these remain it is the English who have preserved them. This is the case in the Rajput States, and many in Central India. 'In some, such as Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Jaipur, the families', says Mr. Oswell, in his excellent *Sketches of Rulers of India*, 'to which the present chiefs belong have ruled in the same territories for more than one thousand years.' In other and larger, including the Mohammedan and Mahratta, States, the rulers are in all cases foreigners, and the rule came into existence in the eighteenth century. But in each and all there is history which needs to be written from the native as well as the foreign point of view, by native as well as by English scholars—or, better still, in collaboration between the two. Is it fanciful to suggest that

here is a link which might be forged by men of good-will, Indians and Englishmen, to bind us more closely together? English and Indian students have already worked together with zeal on Indian History. The Calcutta Historical Society, of which I was a member from its beginning in 1907 to its conclusion (almost immediately after I had compounded as a life member) in 1911, printed some highly valuable papers, the result of considerable research, in the seven volumes which it issued of *Bengal Past and Present*. The enthusiasm and industry of its editor, Mr. Firminger, now archdeacon of Calcutta, deserve the highest praise. It is much to be hoped that he may be able before long to revive a society which was doing such good historical work. And, I repeat, the field for such work is vast indeed. One who knows India and Indian history as few men know them has reminded us of 'the amazing synthesis of anthropology, of history, of human experience, which is gathered within the boundaries of that great area'; and he gave a remarkable illustration of his meaning, when he told how an English sportsman once examined the quiver of a native hunter. 'He found the first arrow tipped with stone—a relic of the neolithic age: the next arrow was tipped with electric telegraph wire—a theft from the twentieth century.'[1]

I cannot conclude what I have to say on this part of my subject better than by quoting some words in which Professor Maitland once expressed the needs of historical study, needs which are nowhere more explicit and evident than in regard to India.

'More co-operation, more organization, more and better criticism, more advice for beginners, are needed. And the need, if not met, will increase. History is

[1] *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 57.

lengthening, and widening, and deepening. It is lengthening at both ends, for while modern States in many parts of the world are making history at a bewilderingly rapid rate, what used to be called ancient history is no longer, by any means, the ancientest; Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and even primeval man, are upon our hands. And history is widening. Could we neglect India, China, and Japan, there would still be America, Australia, Africa, as well as Europe, demanding that their stories should be told, and finding men to tell them well or to tell them badly. And history is deepening. We could not, if we would, be satisfied with the battles and the protocols, the alliances and the intrigues. Literature and art, religion and law, rents and prices, creeds and superstitions have burst the political barrier and are no longer to be expelled. The study of interactions and interdependences is but just beginning, and no one can foresee the end. There is much to be done by schools of history: there will be more to be done every year.'[1]

There is indeed a subject of interest, as vast as it is absorbing, set before those who enter upon the study of Indian History. Shall I be charged with the basest utilitarianism if I ask whether there is any special object, beyond the love of knowledge, the desire to add something to the achievements of human learning, which may attract the student to-day? The question at least is one which we can hardly avoid. We have in this University a number of young men to whom one of the greatest tasks an Englishman can attempt will soon be entrusted. There is no nobler career (for the layman at least), none which calls for greater powers of wisdom and endurance and courage and unselfishness, than that of an Indian civil servant of the Crown, a career open to British subjects of all races, all religions, all differences of social position or upbringing. Little

[1] From *Essays on the Teaching of History.*

though I may be qualified, from the short time I have spent in India, to speak of many subjects connected with British rule in that country, I can say this with full confidence of its truth, that there has never been a finer body of men, more unselfish, more devoted to duty, more sympathetic towards those with whom they are brought into contact, than those civilians who were serving in India at the end of the reign of Victoria, Queen and Empress. It is no exaggerated example that I give when I say that of my own pupils and intimate friends who were working in India at that time, three gave up their lives as young men through sheer devotion to the duties they were called upon to perform.[1]

May their successors be worthy to follow such men.

The work to which they are called is not merely to teach, to judge, or to rule; it is, at the basis of all, to understand. The poets are always beforehand with the statesmen and the historians; and it was George Meredith who wrote thus to an Indian man of letters: 'Of Indian literature and thought we know much, and it is with reverence; of Indian character we know little.'[2] It is the business of those whom we send out to learn to understand Indian character. And that we can help them to begin to do while they are here.

I would plead for a closer *rapprochement* between British and Indian members of this University. I know the difficulties are not all on one side, but I am sure that it is for us to go out to meet our fellow subjects with sympathy and welcome. We want to make them proud of the Empire which they share with us. Let us

[1] Colin Browning; David Ritchie; W. Le B. Tahourdin: men of whom my college may indeed be proud.

[2] *Letters of George Meredith*, ii, p. 621.

make them feel that its history is ours as well as their own.

It is idle to shut our eyes to the dangers which surround the governments of India to-day. These will not have been encountered in vain if they shall have brought the two peoples closer together. A distinguished son of Oxford who has spent nearly forty years of service in the East has recently used words which are a real encouragement to hope. 'While much that concerns India is moving fast,' said Bishop Reginald Stephen Copleston a few months ago, 'I doubt if anything is growing faster than the intelligent interest of Englishmen in all that belongs to India.'[1] The time indeed which a Viceroy, as he entered on his task fifteen years ago, prophesied is coming to pass. 'I am one of those who think that the Eastward trend of empire will increase and not diminish. In my belief the strain upon us will become greater and not less. Parliament will learn to know Asia almost as well as it now knows Europe; and the time will come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge will not be the hobby of a few individuals but the interest of the entire nation.'[2] The contribution that we can make to that interest, in this place, is to see that it is, so far as we can make it, intelligent and continuous. Here is the function of the student of Indian history. Whatever history is, it is certainly not present politics; but it is our business to supply to those who shall be concerned with present politics the sound knowledge which comes from a study of the past. We must set ourselves to train Indian historians as well as Indian lawyers, and soldiers, and

[1] Speech on June 23, 1913 (*Indian Church Magazine*, July, 1913).

[2] Speech of Lord Curzon at the Royal Societies Club, November 7, 1898 (*Lord Curzon in India*, p. 9).

civilians, and missionaries: to give them, with a wide culture, a groundwork at least of knowledge and sympathy in the things of the past. Some striking articles in *The Times* within the last few weeks were summed up in a warning of emphatic truth: 'You cannot safely think of India in terms of Western conditions.' Matthew Arnold may have been quoted far too often, and the East may be awaking, never to 'plunge in thought again'; but racial characteristics, if they are not indelible, show no signs at present of being obliterated. India is still to be compared not to England but to Europe; and 'even Europe is less divided than India'.[1]

But if unity is coming, as indeed it may be, as the result of education and of industrial and commercial expansion, it is the English rule which both has made the beginnings of it, and will make the achievement, possible. The long process perhaps would have been shortened if the course of history had been different. Great men, when the process was at its opening, have done great things, and left names to be remembered with honour. But from the pure historian's point of view it is obvious that the English settlement would have been more rapid, more beneficent, some will say (if they are bold enough to prophesy) more enduring, if it had had for its motive power less of the spirit of Clive and more of the spirit of Christ. It is not a civilization, still less is it an army, which creates an Empire: it is a religion. But I am not now speaking as a missionary, and I am not one of those who prophesy, in that sense at least. I do not think that I pass beyond the bounds of my duty or transgress the limits of the historian. I am content to say, and to call upon our history in

[1] Edwyn Bevan, *Indian Nationalism*, p. 44.

India to prove it, that it was a truth which was uttered in 1898, justified by centuries of advancing altruism, that 'the spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal'. It is in reliance on that conviction alone that we can contemplate with calmness the dangers which surround our service to the Indian peoples to-day. 'Inflexible justice, mercy, pity, labour for no thanks, toil for the helpless, never placation of the implacable or weakness before crime.' That was the ideal which has given India peace in times of hazard equal to those we are passing through. And India under it was content. 'We are here'—said one whom in this place we have a special call to honour, whom this University has regarded in a special sense as a representative of herself—'we are here to give justice, and a single act of injustice is, in my opinion, a greater stain upon our rule than much larger errors of policy or judgement.' There is a parallel to those words in others said twenty years before, which at the time exposed the speaker to shameful misrepresentation and obloquy—words which now I believe that every one of us, and every one of our administrators in India, would proudly take upon his lips. They were said by our great historian whose memory many of us here will never cease to cherish and regard. 'Let duty come first and interest second, and perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, rather than that we should strike one blow or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right.'[1]

But I believe that our history proves that no such alternative is before us. I believe rather that, as we study the history of British India here, the history of

[1] At a meeting at St. James's Hall, December 9, 1878 (*Life of Freeman*, ii. 113).

those who have laboured in India these three hundred years, as we see it in its results among those who now enter into the fruit of those labours, we shall echo the words of one of the greatest of the men who have served that great Empire: 'To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom, that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.'

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THE PROVISION FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES AT OXFORD

SURVEYED IN A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ON THE OCCASION OF ITS MEETING IN CALIFORNIA, 1915

BY

JOHN L. MYRES

M.A., F.S.A.

WYKEHAM PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN OXFORD

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TO PROFESSOR HENRY MORSE STEPHENS, M.A., SATHER PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, ON THE OCCASION OF ITS CALIFORNIAN MEETING.

My dear Professor Stephens,

When I left your hospitable door, less than a year ago, it was with unspoken hope that I might congratulate in person the President of the American Historical Association on the occasion of its Californian meeting, to which you already looked forward with characteristic enthusiasm. But events have intervened, as significant to historians as they are momentous for us all, and I must use other means to convey to yourself my personal good wishes, and to your distinguished Association the congratulations of an Oxford colleague on its choice and on the fair issue which this conference brings.

With these formal greetings I would gladly send some material token of the interest and goodwill with which a historian in one of the oldest surviving schools of history looks out overseas upon the widespread zeal for those studies which your Association symbolizes. And knowing from intimate converse, in those happy months at Berkeley, how warm a corner among the living interests which enrich your life, you keep in your

heart for your old University, I have attempted, with the help of colleagues here, and (among them) of contemporaries and friends of your own, to set down briefly what we try to do in Oxford for historical studies and how we set about it.

First, if you were with us now, you would find a considerable increase in the teaching staff. Let me begin, as befits a historian, 'from the earliest times.' To the Chair of Assyriology an American benefactress has added the Shillito Reader; another gift has established a Reader in Egyptology; and there is a new Lecturer in Aramaic, who, like the Regius Professor of Hebrew, is an epigraphist as well as a scholar. The old Camden Chair of Ancient History has been appropriated to Roman studies since the creation of a Wykeham Chair, whose occupant is to devote himself to the history of 'Greece and Greek lands': so that two Professors partition between them the *orbis terrarum*, the Mediterranean world. Classical Archaeology has its Professor and one University Lecturer, besides a Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy; a similar post in Roman Epigraphy was announced last year, but is suspended during the war. Prehistoric Archaeology too has now a Professor of its own. The Professor of Papyrology and the Lecturer in Palaeography are also recent: the latter, Dr. E. A. Loew, from Cornell, is another link with the New World. Finally, linking ancient with modern in a way which would have pleased Freeman, comes the Bywater bequest for a teacher (not appointed yet) of the Language and Literature of Byzantine and Modern Greece. Please tell my Greek friends in San Francisco about this.

To the two Modern History Chairs and the old Chair of Ecclesiastical History recent foundations have added

a Beit Professor and a Beit Lecturer in Colonial History, a Ford Lecturer in English History, a Chichele Professor of Military History, and a Chichele Lecturer in Foreign History; and besides an University Lecturer in Indian History, whom you would remember, there are now Lecturers in Diplomatic, in Church History and Literature, and in American History: the last-named post still in an experimental stage, but amply justified by the distinction of its first holders.

Political Economy, besides the Drummond Professor, has now its Reader in Economic History; and there is a new Gladstone Chair of Political Theory and Institutions. The organized Schools of Geography and Anthropology have come into existence altogether since your time, Geography with a Professor and three or four assistants, Anthropology with two University Readers, one of whom is also Keeper of the Pitt-Rivers Museum of Ethnography. And the work of the new Wilde Readers in Mental Philosophy and in Natural and Comparative Religion is specifically anthropological in its point of view. The names of the holders of these posts are familiar enough to yourself, but as some of them may interest members of your Association, I have printed them in full on p. 17.

To this list of University teachers you must of course add the College Lecturers, for within the 'nominal' University, as some of our elders still love to call it, twenty-three almost autonomous institutions, some richly endowed, maintain scrupulously their chartered and enacted right, to teach what and how they please, not only against University Professors great and small, but against Faculty Boards on which the nominees of College Lecturers themselves hold half the votes. To the Colleges, then, we are indebted for over twenty

College Lecturers in Ancient History, and forty or more in various branches of Modern History, Political Economy, and Political Philosophy, whose courses are approved for candidates for the B.A. Degree. The total number of our authorized teachers of History therefore falls but little short of a hundred. Much of the time and energy of College Lecturers is claimed, as you know, by undergraduate pupils, whom they are charged by their Colleges to prepare for examinations leading to the B.A. Degree: but there are few among them who have not their own special study, and many have made larger contributions to learning than a list of their publications would suggest. In so large a society of friends and colleagues much circulates orally that would be printed if we worked alone, or had fewer pupils to discuss it with. Certainly we are seldom at a loss to find, among the teaching staff, supervisors for candidates for our Research Degrees, ingenious though these sometimes are in their choice of subjects.

By visitors, I am told, our traditional organization is easily mistaken for the lack of it; and perhaps we are happy-family enough to get along with the formalities of a home. The curious nineteenth-century device by which Ancient History was put in double harness with Philosophy, and Modern History with Law, while everything that preceded Greece and Rome, or intervened between Trajan and Constantine, found cold comfort somewhere between 'Theology' and 'Oriental Languages', certainly invited mirth and outfaced criticism; and the bonds between Law and Modern History were soon dissolved. But another freak of legislation, only a few years ago, abolished the Faculty of Arts, as an administrative unit, and promoted 'Modern History' along with 'Mediaeval and Modern

Languages and Literatures' and some other groups to independent Faculty status. At the same time teachers of Ancient History were authorized to discuss (though not to decide) their affairs unassisted by Philosophy. Unofficially they had been doing this for over twenty years; and it was, in fact, in these informal meetings of History teachers, sometimes convened by a Professor, but frequently by some College Lecturer, that the present lecture-lists took shape as a first step, quite unofficial, towards co-ordinating the University's teaching with that of the autonomous Colleges. The one thing, however, that seems never to have occurred is any joint meeting of ancient and modern historians. Even now Oxford issues no single prospectus (as I think you would call it in America) of a School of History; information for the year has to be collected and collated from announcements made, Term by Term, by several Faculty Boards; and I have heard our 'tutorial system' defended on the ground that no one unprovided with a tutor would ever find his way to lectures.

The programme of studies on p. 18 is therefore more of a novelty than it would seem. Though a shorter conspectus is given for these, as for other studies, in the *Oxford University Handbook*, I think this is the first published analysis of our announcements in history, drawn up so as to show not only what teaching is offered, but also by whom, in what length of course, and at what season of the year. Presented in this form, our arrangements will be easier to compare with those of other Universities; and some inconvenience will be saved to members of your Association (and I hope they may be many) who have occasion hereafter to pay us a visit and enter for a while into our life.

You will easily understand that at the present moment

things are not quite normal here. Teachers who are fit for warfare are either at the front or on the way thither, and there are others in national service according to their ability. So my schedule represents the courses which were offered in the three terms next before the war, with only such amendments in detail as would have been made in any case, for reasons unconnected with it. For the current year, by a little adjustment, those of us who are here keep all essential courses going, and have rather more time than usual to devote to advanced and special students from allied and neutral countries. We share, too, with Cambridge the privilege of entertaining professors and students from Louvain and other seats of learning within the war-area, and we profit in our turn from their teaching and studies. But if all goes well, you may expect us to start after the war with much the same kind of curriculum as we offered before.

To put our arrangements fully at the disposal of a visitor, and particularly of an American visitor, a few points which are not obvious at first sight need explanation even in peace-time.

Our academical year falls, as you know, into three separate Terms, each eight weeks long, and separated by Vacations of five or six weeks at Christmas and Easter.

Our 'Long Vacation', from June to October, belongs to a rural England which has passed away, whose undergraduates were called home for the haymaking, and could not be reassembled till after harvest. Something of the same kind suits Canadian Universities now. And for our own men, the 'Long' is not a waste of time. They are none the worse for an interval, unbroken by lectures or 'college activities' (which are common to both hemispheres), and free for reading or

for travel. They too make hay, and gather harvest, in the Place of Thought. Research-degree students on the other hand, may (if they wish) fulfil one Term's 'residence' within the limits of the Long Vacation, and reckon this in their degree course.

For the picturesque local names of the Terms I have substituted the bald statement that courses begin respectively in October, in January, and at the end of April; and the numeral opposite the title gives the number of lectures per week, usually one, two, or three. A star in place of a numeral denotes informal instruction.

Courses do not generally extend over more than one Term, and this limitation explains why so many of them cover short periods and detailed topics. The further reason for this must be added, however, that many courses announced as 'lectures' deal with their subject in very minute detail, more like a continental 'seminar'.

The propensity of 'introductory' lectures, and consecutive courses, extending over two or more terms, to begin in April rather than in October, reflects the fact that certain preliminary examinations are held in March, so as to allow students to be initiated (as it were) into 'upper division' work before the Long Vacation, which without such guidance might easily be wasted. In populous subjects, however, there is sometimes a duplicate course beginning in October. A graduate student who arrives in October is of course only affected by these anomalies in so far that he may have to wait till April for a particular kind of lecture.

A criticism reaches me sometimes, and particularly from American visitors, that we offer no 'graduate courses', except in the old 'higher' Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine. In the formal sense, this is

true; but the omission is in part made good otherwise; and like most Oxford anomalies this has a historical cause, which will at all events interest historians. Our Doctorate has never ceased to denote something like Professorial efficiency, and premises a solid contribution to learning in the shape of published and approved work. Even our queer clerical D.D. is nominally *Sanctae Theologiae Professor*. Our D.Litt. and D.Sc. are therefore in no sense comparable with the Ph.D. of foreign universities. Our Master's Degree, on the other hand, lost its way (with the D.D.) in the eighteenth century or earlier, and has not yet been retrieved, for financial and political reasons which are irrelevant here. At all events we have now neither M.A. courses nor M.A. examinations.

It was in part to remedy this that our 'Research Degrees' of B.Litt. and B.Sc. were recently created, standing as they do more nearly on the level of a foreign Ph.D. than of a Baccalaureate in the ordinary sense. For our own Bachelors they serve almost exactly the same purpose as the Master's Degree serves in Universities which have a Master's course. To prescribe any formal course of study for these degrees would alter their quality, and reduce their requirements to the level of a Master's degree elsewhere. At the same time, every candidate for these degrees may be (and usually is) placed under the personal supervision of one or more members of the Faculty, selected with special reference to the scope and method of the course of study which he has planned for himself. They may be University Professors, or College Lecturers, according as the individuals best qualified for the task happen to be in the service of the University or of one of the Colleges in it. They are not required by the Faculty to give formal instruction to the candidate; only to

satisfy the Faculty that he is making good use of his time, and to see that he has the equipment and facilities which his work requires. It is therefore only by his own inadvertence that a student of this kind can find himself unprovided with a course of 'graduate study' suited to his special case.

Formal courses, if they are wanted, will be found in the lists published by Faculty Boards and analysed on p. 18. You are yourself thoroughly familiar with our arrangements; but you will expect me to add a word of explanation, when I submit to an Association of graduates, like yours, a programme in which more than half the courses are officially approved for candidates for the B.A. degree, which can be obtained (among other ways) either in Modern History exclusively, or in Ancient History coupled with Philosophy. Yet in the same lists are included all Professorial lectures and classes in these departments of knowledge.

The explanation is simple, and characteristic of our teaching here. Oxford degrees are conferred solely on the double qualification of residence and proficiency. The University keeps no register of attendances at courses, and expects no reports from lecturers. For flagrant misconduct, of course, either the University or the residential College to which a student belongs may suspend his residence, and thereby postpone the completion of his degree course, perhaps indefinitely; and Colleges sometimes suspend for flagrant idleness as well, or make further residence conditional on proof of industry. But the University of Oxford takes no more cognizance of College offences or College discipline than an American University might take of the disciplinary acts of a man's Fraternity or House-Club.

In theory, therefore, students have complete freedom

to attend what courses they please. If their choice is restricted, it is as a matter of College discipline only. And as all Colleges offer historical teaching of some kind, this free choice and free competition tend to differentiate the lectures in a generally wholesome way. Some courses indeed are said to acquire from time to time the questionable repute of being 'good for the Schools', that is, of meeting more exactly than others the requirements of a particular examination; but I believe that most lecturers simply put their best work before their classes, without any such reserve; and in this kind of competition the standard tends to go up. Such teaching is in fact of professorial quality, and is recognized as such by graduate students from abroad. And you will easily understand that such teachers adapt their methods to the number and quality of the students who come to them in a given year; to a crowd, they have to lecture; with a small class (as it must surely be in the courses which aim highest) they can adopt the 'informal instruction' which is our equivalent for seminar-teaching. Thus it comes about that we do not draw any hard-and-fast line between lectures approved for the B.A. degree, and advanced seminar-classes; and it would be invidious and misleading to attempt it.

The teachers, in the same way, have (in theory) complete freedom as to the subject and duration of their courses. Faculty Boards have the right, very seldom used, to make suggestions to any teacher as to topic and hours; and they may exclude any College announcement from the Faculty's list. But there is no authority in the University competent either to require of any College lecturer any particular grade of instruction or kind of treatment; or to prescribe to any Professor or University teacher the way in which he shall

deal with the subject committed to him, or what parts of it he shall cover in his teaching; nor to make any provision that all parts of a subject shall be covered in any year, either by the University's own teachers collectively, or by the College Lecturers. This looks like anarchy; but in practice anarchy is tempered by common sense. The scope and standards of University examinations inferred from the published questions, and the oral examinations which are held in public, suggest a minimum below which it would be unsafe for any course to descend. Above this minimum, an honourable rivalry permits College Lecturers to specialize without risk of general neglect. They might indeed not unfairly be described as so many assistant Professors, with a wandering commission to profess as they please, and the ambition (rather than the duty) to assist. In this free-and-easy way, most of the ground is covered at least once in the year, and most of our teachers are specialists in at least one part of it. Many hands make light work; and an analysis of names and subjects would show you an Oxford tenacious still of its traditional function as a mediaeval guild of master-teachers, *Universitas Magistrorum*, in which every student is welcome who cares to come and 'read with' that one of those 'masters' *magistri artium* who best meets his need, and may hope at the close to present him, *hunc meum scholarem*, like a mediaeval apprentice, for the formal approval of the guild. For, names and labels mattering so little as they really do, our *gradus magistri in artibus* 'is not dead but sleepeth, and must be awaked'; is indeed already wakeful.

There is, nevertheless, some overlap in the list as it stands, and some ground, too, is almost wholly neglected. Both defects arise in part from the peculiar require-

ments of University examinations, and from the lack of students requiring anything beyond them. The omissions are least easy to excuse; but you will remember that we have two rather heartless practices, which I fear we are slow to unlearn. We deplete our own advanced classes by encouraging our graduates to travel, and study elsewhere: and whether they travel or not, we put them over-young into responsible College posts, without safeguarding hours which should be reserved for graduate work from being squandered on pupils or on administration. For you can hardly expect a young man to attend graduate classes as well, if you load him at the outset with twenty or thirty hours of teaching in the week. Nor can you fairly look for excursions into fields of work remote from the pupils' needs, when the teacher has himself little stock-in-trade outside the B.A. curriculum, which he has so recently completed for himself.

Thus deficient organization of outlying studies leads directly to overlap and duplication in the favoured subjects. This is conspicuous in Ancient History, where our habit of teaching a few limited periods with intimate reference to great literary texts has led us to neglect those periods of history for which the texts are less valuable as literature, with the result that, in Greek History (p. 19) for example, there are six courses on the period covered by Herodotus, and seven on that of Thucydides, against two for all later Greek history. This kind of overlap, however, is partly excused by the consideration that for teaching, which approximates to the 'seminar' work of Continental Universities, small classes are better than large; and where the personality of the teacher counts for so much as it does in advanced historical work, a choice of lecturers is a permissible

luxury if only there are lecturers enough. And in Ancient History, as you will have seen, more than twenty College Lecturers are competing with each other and with the two Professors for the attendance of about three hundred students. Modern History, less hampered by a literary past, covers a very much wider range of topics, with fair impartiality, tolerable completeness, and very little overlap of courses.

These few comments and explanations will be enough, I think, to enable your members to realize in essentials what our programme is, and how we approach problems which are common, in the main, to all teaching of History. If I have strayed from commentary to criticism it is only to suggest (what I believe to be common here) that some of us are conscious of some of our defects, and on the way to find remedies for them: above all, that we court inquiry and value criticism from those who know their own needs, the *magistri in artibus* of the New World's teaching-guilds. Historians will understand, better than most, how tenderly an Old-World institution, unassisted in this way, comes to deal with its anomalies, and even with abuses, when they 'have a history' as long as some of ours. In spirit, and, as occasion serves, in person, 'come over and help us.'

And so, with all goodwill and happy memory of Californian days, I submit to you my little offering, a survey of the provision for historical studies in Oxford; and I remain

Yours ever very sincerely,

JOHN L. MYRES.

OXFORD,
June, 1915.

TABLE I

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS IN HISTORICAL SUBJECTS

WITH THE SUBJECTS WHICH THEY REPRESENT, AND THE COLLEGES WITH WHICH THEY ARE ASSOCIATED

Assyriology, Professor	Archibald Henry Sayce, M.A. .	Queen's.
,, Shillito Reader . .	Stephen Langdon, Hon. M.A. .	Jesus.
Egyptology, Reader	Francis Llewelyn Griffith, M.A.	Queen's.
Aramaic, Lecturer	John Frederick Stenning, M.A. .	Wadham.
Prehistoric Archaeology, Professor	Sir Arthur John Evans, M.A., D.Litt.	B.N.C.
Ancient History (*Greek*), Wykeham Professor	John Linton Myres, M.A. . .	New Coll.
,, ,, (*Roman*), Camden Professor	Francis John Haverfield, M.A. .	B.N.C.
Archaeology, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum	David George Hogarth, M.A. .	Magdalen.
Classical Archaeology and Art, Lincoln and Merton Professor	Percy Gardner, M.A., D.Litt. .	Lincoln.
,, ,, Lecturer . . .	Guy Dickins, M.A.	St. John's.
Epigraphy (*Greek*), Lecturer . .	Marcus Niebuhr Tod, M.A. . .	Oriel.
,, (*Roman*), Lecturer . .	[suspended].	
Papyrology, Professor	Arthur Surridge Hunt, M.A., D.Litt.	Queen's.
Palaeography, Lecturer	Elias Avery Loew, Ph.D., Cornell.	
Modern History, Regius Professor	Charles Harding Firth, M.A. .	Oriel.
,, ,, Chichele Professor	Charles W. C. Oman, M.A. . .	All Souls.
Ecclesiastical History, Regius Professor	Edward William Watson, D.D. .	Ch. Ch.
Colonial History, Beit Professor .	Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A. .	All Souls.
,, ,, Beit Lecturer .	Reginald Coupland, M.A. . .	Trinity.
Foreign History, Chichele Lecturer	Geoffrey Baskerville, M.A. (1914)	Keble.
Military History, Chichele Professor	Henry Spenser Wilkinson, M.A.	All Souls.
Indian History, Reader	William Holden Hutton, B.D. .	St. John's.
English History, Ford's Lecturer .	Andrew Geo. Little, M.A. (1914)	Balliol.
American History, Lecturer . . .	Arthur Twining Hadley, Ph.D., LL.D., Yale (1914).	
Church History and Literature .	Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, M.A.	Magdalen.
Language and Literature of Byzantine and Modern Greece	[Bywater Bequest, 1915.]	
Diplomatic, Lecturer; and Keeper of the Archives	Reginald Lane Poole, M.A. . .	Magdalen.
Political Economy, Drummond Professor	Francis Ysidro Edgeworth, M.A.	All Souls.
Economic History, Reader . . .	Langford Lovell Price, M.A.. .	Oriel.

Political Theory and Institutions, Gladstone Professor	William G. S. Adams, M.A. . .	All Souls.
Jurisprudence, Corpus Professor .	Paul Vinogradoff, M.A., Hon. D.C.L.	Corpus.
International Law and Diplomacy, Chichele Professor	Sir Henry Erle Richards, B.C.L., M.A.	All Souls.
Geography, Professor	Andrew John Herbertson, M.A.	Wadham.
Social Anthropology, Reader . .	Robert R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc. .	Exeter.
Ethnography, Keeper of the Pitt-Rivers Museum	Henry Balfour, M.A.	Trinity.

TABLE II

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE LECTURE COURSES AND INFORMAL INSTRUCTION IN HISTORICAL SUBJECTS, OFFERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

COMPILED FROM THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY GAZETTE, THE LECTURE-LISTS OF THE BOARDS OF FACULTIES FOR 1913-4-5, AND THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEES FOR ANTHROPOLOGY, CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The numeral opposite each course indicates the number of lectures per week in the Term shown at the head of the column: an asterisk denotes 'times to be arranged'.

University teachers, other than Professors, are indicated by the words *Reader*, *Lecturer*, &c. College Lecturers are followed by the name of their College.

PRIMITIVE CULTURE.		*Course begins in* Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
Sanctions of Savage Conduct .	Dr. Marett, *Reader*	...	...	2
Totemism	,, ,, ...	...	2	...
Social Anthropology with special reference to the Sudan	,, ,, ...	1	...	...
Seminar: (recent subjects are— Primitive Law; Social Origins; Comparisons between Prehistoric and Modern Savages; Studies in the works of Frazer and Tylor).				
Ethnographical Collections in the Pitt-Rivers Museum	Mr. Balfour, *Curator*	*	*	*
Comparative Technology with special reference to the Sudan	,, ,, ...	1	..	...
The Bronze and Early Iron Ages	Mr. Leeds, *Ashm. Museum*	*	*	*
Religion and Morals in Early Society	Dr. Farnell, *Lecturer*	2	...	...
Group Theories of Religion and the Individual	Mr. Webb, *Lecturer*	...	...	1
Economics of Simple Societies	Professor Myres	2	...	...

			Course begins in Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
The Method of Cultural Anthropology	Mr. Blunt	Ch. Ch. .	*	*	*
Stages of Culture, and the latest Episodes in the Earth's History	Professor Sollas		1	...	...
Indian Religion and Customs, and Indian Archaeology	Professor Macdonell		*	*	*
Indian Archaeology and Art .	Mr. Vincent Smith		*	*	*
Primitive Language in its relation to Thought	Professor Smith		*	*	*
Comparative Philology of the Bantu Languages	Mr. Madan . . .	Ch. Ch. .	*	*	*
Comparative Philology, and Instruction in European and Oriental Languages: reference should be made to the announcements of the Faculties concerned					

ORIENTAL HISTORY.

Babylonia and Assyria.

Occasional Public Lectures . .	Professor Sayce		*	*	*
The Babylonian Epic of Creation	Dr. Langdon, *Reader*		2	...	...
Babylonian Magic and Religion	,, ,, ...		*	*	*
Recent Contributions from Assyriology	,, ,, ...		1	...	...
Informal Instruction	,, ,, ...		*	*	*

Egypt.

The Book of the Dead . . .	Mr. Griffith, *Reader*		...	1	...
The Civilization of Nubia . .	,, ,, ...		1	...	...
The Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum	,, ,, ...		...	...	1
Egyptian Legal Documents .	,, ,, ...		...	...	1
Informal Instruction	,, ,, ...		*	*	*
Egyptian Society, Feudal Age .	Mr. Blackman . .	Worcester	...	...	1

Semitic Archæology and Epigraphy.

Old Testament Archæology .	Professor Burney		1	...	...
North Semitic Epigraphy . .	Mr. Gray	Mansfield	...	1	...
Aramaic Inscriptions	Mr. Stenning, *Lecturer*		2	2	2

GREEK HISTORY.

Asia Minor, &c.

Recent Hittite Research . . .	Mr. Hogarth, *Ashm. Museum* .		...	1	...

General.

Introduction to Ancient History, Method and Authorities	Professor Myres		...	...	2
	,, ...		*	*	*
Introductory Lectures . . .	Professor of Greek and others .		...	...	1
Introduction to the Study of Greek History	Mr. Whatley . . .	Hertford .	...	...	2
Influence of the Geography of Greece on its Political History	Mr. Toynbee (*Geography School*) . . .		...	...	1
Greece and Persia, 550–322 B.C.	Professor Myres		2	...	...
The Greeks in the West . . .	Mr. Dundas . . .	Ch. Ch. .	1	...	...
Secondary Powers in Greece .	Mr. How	Merton .	...	1	...
Greek Commerce	Professor Myres		2	...	...

GREEK HISTORY (*continued*).

			Course begins in Oct.	*Jan.*	*Apr.*
Constitutional History.					
Political Institutions of the Greek City States	Professor Myres		...	2	...
Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*	Mr. Walker	Queen's	2	...	...
Period before 500 B.C.					
Problems of Early Greek History	Professor Myres		...	...	2
Period 776–478 B.C.					
Questions in Early Greek History	Mr. Dundas	Ch. Ch.	...	...	1
The Sixth Century B.C.	Mr. Tod	Oriel	...	...	2
Foreign Policy of Sparta in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries	Mr. Dickins	St. John's	...	1	...
Herodotus	Mr. Underhill	Magdalen	2	...	2
„	Mr. Toynbee	Balliol	...	...	1
„ (Introductory and Oriental)	Mr. Cunningham	Worcester	...	...	2
Period 479–404 B.C.					
Introduction to the Period	Mr. Stevenson	University	...	...	2
479–432 B.C.	Mr. Tod	Oriel	2	...	...
Peloponnesian War	Mr. Walker	Queen's	...	2	...
Thucydides	Mr. Underhill	Magdalen	...	2	...
„	Dr. Henderson	Exeter	...	2	...
Thucydides VIII and Xen. *Hell.* I, II	Dr. Grundy	Corpus	...	2	...
Development of Euripides' Thought, 430–406	Professor of Greek		...	1	...
Period 404–322 B.C.					
Diodorus, xvi	Mr. Walker	Queen's	2	...	...
Period after 322 B.C.					
The City State after Alexander	Professor Myres		...	1	...

ROMAN HISTORY.

General.					
Rome, Italy, the Sources	Dr. Henderson	Exeter	...	...	1
Problems in Roman History	Mr. Benecke	Magdalen	1	...	...
Army, Frontiers, and Provinces	Dr. Hardy	Jesus	2	...	...
Roman Religion and Folk-lore	Mr. Bailey	Balliol	*	*	*
Constitutional.					
Constitution of the Republic and Early Empire.	Professor Haverfield		...	...	2
Constitution under the Republic	Dr. Grundy	Corpus	...	...	2
„ „ Empire	„	„	2	...	...
Constitutional History with Appian	Mr. Strachan-Davidson	Balliol	...	...	3
Roman Municipal System (Sources)	Dr. Henderson	Exeter	...	1	...

			Course begins in Oct.	*Jan.*	*Apr.*
Period 264–146 B.C.					
Polybius	Mr. Benecke	Magdalen	...	...	1
Period 146–21 B.C.					
Economic and Social Causes of the Fall of the Republic	Mr. How	Merton	...	...	2
The Italian Land Problem	Mr. Toynbee	Balliol	...	...	2
Questions from the Gracchi to Caesar	Dr. Hardy	Jesus	...	1	...
Period 146 B.C.–69 A.D.	Mr. Brown	Pembroke	...	...	1
„ 78–43 B.C.	Mr. Wells	Wadham	3	...	...
Cicero, *Letters*	Mr. Matheson	New Coll.	2	...	...
Caesar's Dictatorship and the Early Empire	Dr. Hardy	Jesus	...	...	2
The Civil War 44–31 B.C.	Mr. Anderson	Ch. Ch.	...	...	1
Period 43 B.C.–117 A.D.					
Roman Empire: Frontier Geography and Monumentum Ancyranum	Professor Haverfield		2	...	...
The Provinces: Europe and Asia	„		...	2	...
„ Asia and Egypt	Mr. Anderson				
Sources for the Period 43 B.C.–117 A.D.	Mr. Cheesman	New Coll.	...	...	1
Senatorial and Equestrian Careers	Dr. Hardy	Jesus	...	1	...
Tacitus: *Annals*	Mr. Cunningham	Worcester	...	2	...
The Flavian Emperors	„	„	1	...	...
The years 80–120 A.D. with Suetonius	Professor Haverfield		...	1	...
Pliny: *Letters*	Mr. Stevenson	University	1	...	...
Roman Britain (two lectures)	Professor Haverfield		*	...	...

Period 117–300 A.D.

[None, except lectures on Early Church History in the Theology Lists.]

AIDS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD.

Classical Archaeology.

Greek Sculpture, early	Professor Gardner	...	3	...
„ „ 450–320 B.C.	„ „	3	...	...
„ „ selected works	Mr. Dickins, *Lecturer*	...	...	1
„ „ passages of ancient writers	„ „	...	...	1
Greek Coins	Professor Gardner	...	1	...
„ origin of Greek Coinage	„ „	1	...	...
Greek Vases	„ „	...	1	...
Classification of the Minoan Periods	Professor Sir Arthur Evans	...	1	...
Homeric Religion and Ritual	Dr. Farnell, *Lecturer*	...	1	...
Homeric Archaeology	„ „	1	...	...
„ „	Professor Myres	...	1	...
„ „	Mr. Allen, *Reader*	...	3	...
Excavations at Delphi	Professor Gardner	...	...	1
Early Religious Monuments in the Mediterranean Area	Dr. Farnell, *Lecturer*	...	...	2

			Course begins in Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
EPIGRAPHY, PAPYROLOGY, AND PALAEOGRAPHY.					
Origin of the Greek Alphabet	Mr. Tod, *Lecturer*		...	...	1
Greek Epigraphy	,, ,,		1	...	...
Greek Historical Inscriptions	,, ,,		...	2	...
Roman Epigraphy (Empire)	Mr. Anderson	Ch. Ch.	...	1	...
Roman Municipal Inscriptions	Mr. Brown	Pembroke	...	1	...
Papyrology, informal	Professor Hunt		1	1	...
Palaeography (Latin)	Dr. Loew, *Lecturer*		2	...	...
MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.					
GENERAL EUROPEAN HISTORY:—					
Early Church History.					
The Apostolic Age	Mr. Bartlett	Mansfield	...	...	1
The Apostolic Succession	Mr. Turner	Magdalen	...	...	1
The Sub-Apostolic Age	Dr. Kidd	Keble	3	...	...
Times of Justin Martyr	Dr. Spooner	New Coll.	1	...	...
I. 313–476.					
Church History after 313	Professor Watson		...	...	3
,, ,, after 380	,, ,,		3	...	...
,, ,, after 380	Dr. Kidd	Delegacy	...	...	3
The Times of Ambrose	Dr. Dudden	Lincoln	2	...	2
Churches of Armenia and Caucasus	Dr. Conybeare, *Lecturer*		...	...	2
Theodosius to Dante	Mr. Bartlett	Mansfield	2	...	...
II. 476–919. General Questions	Mr. Priestley	St. Edmund's	...	1	1
Western Europe in the Ninth Century	Mr. Hodgkin	Queen's	...	2	...
III. 919–1273. General Questions	Mr. Davis	All Souls	...	2	...
Europe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries	Mr. Poole	St. John's	2	...	...
The Age of Hildebrand	Mr. Davis	Balliol	2	...	...
Norman and Byzantine Influence in Mediaeval Europe	Mr. Williams	Jesus	2	...	...
The Papal Chancery to the Thirteenth Century	Mr. Poole, *Lecturer*		1	...	...
Empire and Papacy	Mr. Urquhart	Balliol	2	...	...
Germany and the Empire	Dr. Bussell	B.N.C.	...	...	2
IV. 1273–1519.					
The Age of Boniface VIII	Mr. Baskerville	Keble	1	...	...
The Age of Dante	Mr. Armstrong	Queen's	...	1	...
Dante's *Divina Commedia*	Mr. Foligno, *Lecturer*		...	1	...
Villani, Compagni's *Croniche*	,,		1	...	...
Age of Dante: other authorities	,,		...	...	1
V. 1414–1598. Introductory	Mr. Leys	University	...	...	1
French and Burgundian History (Fifteenth Century)	Mr. Armstrong	Queen's	...	1	2
Germany and her neighbours (Fifteenth Century)	,,	,,	2	...	...
Italy (Fifteenth Century)	Mr. A. L. F. Smith	Magdalen	...	2	...

			Course begins in Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
VI. 1559–1715. Introductory	Mr. Atkinson	Exeter	...	2	...
			...	...	2
Germany (Sixteenth Century)	Mr. Stampa	Exeter	...	2	...
The Counter-Reformation	Mr. Feiling	Ch. Ch.	2	...	...
French History, 1643–1715	Mr. Carlile	Lincoln	2	...	...
VII. 1715–1815. Introductory	Mr. Urquhart	Balliol	...	...	2
Political Geography of Europe	Professor Oman		...	...	2
Russia in the Eighteenth Century	Mr. Hodgkin	Queen's	2	...	...
French Revolution: antecedents	Mr. Montague	Oriel	...	2	...
French Revolution	„	„	2	...	2
VIII. 1789–1878. Introductory	Mr. Marriott	Worcester	...	...	3
France, 1789–1799	Mr. Wickham-Legg	New Coll.	...	2	...
Revolutionary spirit in Modern France	Mr. Cruttwell	Hertford	...	...	2
Chief Crises, 1789–1815	Mr. Hassall	Ch. Ch.	...	...	2
„ „ 1815–1878	„	„	1	1	...
General Questions, 1815–1878	Mr. Cruttwell	Hertford	...	...	2
German History, 1789–1815	Mr. Robertson	All Souls	...	1	...
Germany in the Age of Bismarck	„	„	3	...	...
General European History, 1858–1878	Mr. Marriott	Worcester	...	1	...
Europe since 1870	Professor Firth		1	...	...
The Eastern Question	Mr. Urquhart	Balliol	...	2	...
Modern European Constitutions	Professor Adams		...	...	2
The Powers at War, their Political Institutions	„ „		2	...	...

ENGLISH HISTORY.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

Roman Britain	Professor Haverfield		1	...	...
English History before 1066	Mr. Lennard	Wadham	3	1	...
„ „ before 1307	Mr. Weaver	Trinity	...	...	2
„ „ after 1014	Mr. Carlile	Lincoln	...	3	3
„ „ after 1307	Mr. Johnson	Merton	...	2	2
„ „ before 1485	Mr. Davis	Balliol	1	...	...
Survey of English Mediaeval History	Mr. Barker	New Coll.	3	3	2
Stubbs, *Select Charters*	Mr. Morgan	Keble	3	2	...
Richard II	Mr. Barker	New Coll.	1	...	...
Fasciculi Zizaniorum	„	„	...	1	...
Military and Foreign Policy, 1327–1461	Mr. Mowat	Corpus	2	...	...
Yorkists and Tudors	„	„	...	3	...
Tudors	Mr. Patterson	Trinity	...	...	2
„	Mr. Leys	University	3	...	...
Documents, 1485–1660	Mr. Wakeling	Brasenose	2	...	...
Tudors and Stuarts: Naval History	Mr. Atkinson	Exeter	...	2	...
English History, 1603–1815	Mr. Mowat	Corpus	...	...	2

ENGLISH HISTORY (*continued*).			*Course begins in* Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
Documents, 1660–1832	Mr. Robertson	Exeter	...	3	...
Macaulay, *History of England*	Professor Firth		...	...	1
,, ,, ,, Ch. III	,, ,,		...	...	1
Early part of Charles II's Reign	,, ,,		...	1	...
Revolution of 1688	,, ,,		1	1	...
Reign of Queen Anne	Mr. Wickham-Legg	New Coll.	2	...	...
Scotland under Queen Anne	Dr. Hume Brown, *Lecturer*		...	2	...
Foreign Policy, 1660–1815	Mr. Robertson	All Souls	...	...	3
English History after 1783	Mr. Patterson	Trinity	...	2	...
Pitt and Castlereagh	Mr. Feiling	Ch. Ch	...	2	...
Development of the Constitution, 1884–1914	Emeritus Professor Dicey		2	...	...
Government and Administration of Great Britain and Ireland	Professor Adams		...	2	...
British Financial Policy and Administration	,, ,,		1	...	...
Federal Government (Egerton's *Texts*)	Mr. Marriott	Worcester	...	1	...
COLONIAL HISTORY.					
Outlines of Modern Colonial History	Professor Egerton		...	...	2
English Colonies in the Eighteenth Century	,, ,,		...	2	...
Imperial Problems, past and present	,, ,,		1	...	...
Canadian Self-Government, Evolution of	,, ,,		2	...	...
South African History, 1849–1889	Mr. Coupland, *Lecturer*		...	1	1
INDIAN HISTORY.					
Introductory	Dr. Hutton, *Reader* (1914)		...	...	1
Legislation affecting India (from the Seventeenth Century)			...	1	...
Legislation affecting India (in the Nineteenth Century)			...	...	1
Administration of Warren Hastings			...	...	1
,, ,, the Marquess Wellesley			...	...	1
,, ,, Sir John Shore			...	...	1
The Permanent Settlement of 1793			...	...	1
History of British India from 1785			1	...	...
,, ,, ,, 1773–1805		(1914)	1	1	...
Crown, Parliament, and India			...	...	1
MILITARY HISTORY.					
First Lessons in War	Professor Spenser Wilkinson		2	...	...
Arming a Nation, illustrated from the French Revolution Armies	,, ,,		1	...	...

			Course begins in Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
Theory of War, with special reference to Napoleon and Moltke	Professor Spenser Wilkinson		...	...	2
English Military and Foreign Policy (1327–1461)	Mr. Mowat	Corpus	2	...	...
English Naval History (Tudors and Stuarts)	Mr. Atkinson	Exeter	...	2	...
Wellington's Campaign of 1812	Professor Oman		...	2	...

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

POLITICAL THEORIES, HISTORICALLY TREATED.

Plato, *Republic*	Professor Stewart		3	...	1
,, ,,	College Lectures in the Philosophy Lists		3	1	3
Aristotle, *Politics*	Mr. Benecke	Magdalen	...	...	2
,, ,,	Mr. A. L. Smith	Balliol	...	...	2
Aristotle and Hobbes	Mr. Marriott	Worcester	2	...	...
Political Theory of Hobbes	Mr. Wakeling	Brasenose	...	2	...
Hobbes to Maine	Mr. A. L. Smith	Balliol	...	2	...
Bossuet	Dr. Figgis, *Lecturer*		...	...	2
History of Political Ideas: Plato to Nicolas of Cusa	Mr. Barker	New Coll.	2	...	...
History of Political Ideas: Mediaeval and Modern	,,	,,	...	3	...
Development of Political Theory	Mr. Moberly	Lincoln	...	...	2
Political Theory of Feudalism	Dr. Carlyle	University	...	1	...
History of the Theory of Natural Law	,,	,,	...	...	2
History of the Theory of Social Contract	,,	,,	...	2	...

POLITICAL THEORY AND INSTITUTIONS.

Theory of Rights	Professor Adams		1	...	...
Theory of the State	Mr. Lindsay	Balliol	...	2	..
Theory of Political Obligation	Dr. Bussell	New Coll.	...	2	...
Social and Political Questions	Mr. A. L. Smith	Balliol	2	...	...
Questions in Moral and Political Philosophy	Mr. Ball	St. John's	...	2	...
Political Institutions	Mr. Barker	New Coll.	...	...	2
The State in relation to Labour and Capital	Professor Adams		...	1	...
Justice and Wages	Mr. Joseph	New Coll.	1	...	...
Social Experiments in Continental Europe	Mr. Farley	Manchester	1	...	...
Dynamics of Social Progress	Dr. Muirhead	Manchester	...	1	...
Socialism	Mr. Heath	New Coll.	...	...	1
Property and Democracy in U.S.A.	Dr. Hadley, *Lecturer*		...	...	1
Federal Government (with Egerton's *Texts*)	Mr. Marriott	Worcester	..	1	...
Representative Government	Professor Adams		...	...	1

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Currency and Public Finance	Professor Edgworth		2	2	1
Discussion Class			1	1	1
History of Economic Theories	Mr. Price, *Reader*		...	2	...

POLITICAL SCIENCE (*continued*).				*Course begins in* Oct.	Jan.	Apr.
English Economic History (Eighteenth–Nineteenth Century)	Mr. Price, *Reader*			2	...	...
Modern Social and Economic Questions considered in the light of History	,, ,,			...	...	2
Discussion Class for Students of Economics	,, ,,			1	1	1
Discussion Class for Students of Modern History	,, ,,			1	1	...
Individual Instruction	,, ,,			*	*	*
Economic History from 1348	Mr. Davis	Balliol		...	...	2
,, ,, (Rural) 1200–1600	Mr. Lennard	Wadham		...	...	2
Social Economics	Mr. Penson	Pembroke		...	...	2
Elements of Economic Theory	,,	,,		2	...	...
Political Economy of J. S. Mill	,,	,,		...	2	...
Political Economy	Mr. Phelps	Oriel		...	...	3
Elements of Economics	Mr. Jenkinson	B. N. C.		...	...	1
Informal Instruction	Mr. Cannan			*	*	*
,, ,,	Mr. Ball	St. John's		*	*	*
,, in Economic Theory	Mr. Wakeling	B. N. C.		*	*	*
Value and Distribution	Mr. Clay	All Souls		...	...	1
Unemployment	Mr. Lennard	Wadham		...	...	2
Theory of Trusts and Combinations	Mr. Blunt	Ch. Ch.		...	...	1

JURISPRUDENCE, INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND OTHER RELATED SUBJECTS.					
Historical Jurisprudence: Outlines of Greek Law	Professor Vinogradoff		...	...	3
Seminar: Greek Juridical Inscriptions	,, ,,		...	...	2
Modern Jurisprudence: Principles of Public Law	,, ,,		2	...	...
Seminar: Tribal Custom in Mediaeval Law	,, ,,		1	...	...
Jurisprudence	Mr. Hazel	Jesus	2	3	2
International Law	Professor Sir Erle Richards		2	...	...
State Disputes: settlement by other means than War: by War on Land	,, ,,		...	2	...
State Disputes: War on Sea: Declaration of London; Neutrality	,, ,,		...	...	3
Collective Psychology	Dr. McDougall, *Reader*		2	...	...
National Psychology	Dr. McDougall, *Reader*		...	...	1

PALAEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATIC.					
Latin Palaeography, with practice in MSS. and Charters	Mr. Poole, *Lecturer*		2	...	...
Introduction to the Study of Documents	,, ,,		1	...	...
The Forms of English Charters down to Henry II	,, ,,		...	1	...

			Course begins in Oct.	*Jan.*	*Apr.*
English Documents from the Twelfth Century	Mr. Poole, *Lecturer*	. . . . .	...	...	2
The Papal Chancery down to the Thirteenth Century	„ „	. . . . .	1	...	...
Mediaeval Historical Authorities	„ „	. . . . .	...	2	...
Mediaeval Palaeography (Ninth to Sixteenth Century)	Mr. Little	All Souls	...	2	...
Informal Practical Instruction .	Mr. Whitwell . . .	Maitland Library	2	2	2
Practical Bibliography . . .	Dr. Aitken	Queen's .	1	1	...

GEOGRAPHY. (Human and Historical.)

Geographical Methods and Notations	Professor Herbertson	. . . .	1	...	...
Geographical Distribution of Man	„	. . . .	1	2	...
Natural Regions of the British Empire	„	. . . .	...	1	...
Topography of Europe . . .	„	. . . .	...	...	1
The British Isles	„	. . . .	...	2	...
The Country between Rhine and Seine	„	. . . .	1	...	...
Seminar (Economic, Social, Political)	„	. . . .	...	1	1
Influence of the Geography of Greece on its Political History	Mr. Toynbee		...	...	1
Geography of Roman Britain .	Professor Haverfield	. . . .	1	...	...
Political Geography of Europe (Eighteenth Century)	Professor Oman		...	...	2
Political Geography of England and Wales	Mr. Johnson . . .	Univ. . .	2	...	...
Political Geography	Mr. Robertson .	All Souls	...	...	1

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE STUDY OF WAR

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE
DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
NOVEMBER 27 1909

BY

SPENSER WILKINSON

CHICHELE PROFESSOR OF MILITARY HISTORY

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THE UNIVERSITY AND THE STUDY OF WAR

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

You and those who under your auspices are assembled here to-day can enter, as no other audience could enter, into the feelings with which, as your first Professor of Military History, I address you for the first time. A man for whom the years spent under the influence of this University were the prelude to the battle of life, and who owes to his Oxford training, however imperfectly received, his way of looking at public affairs, now comes back among you with the duty of contributing to the spiritual and intellectual life of Oxford something of what he has learned in the course of a prolonged effort to explore and understand the currents of national energy. The duty laid upon me is at the same time a privilege, for it gives me the opportunity of endeavouring—I will not say to discharge my filial obligation to our generous mother, for which of us could either wish or hope to repay that debt?—but at any rate to prove that I am no thankless child. To you then I can and must speak freely and sincerely, and, sustained by your goodwill, I shall, according to time-honoured tradition, attempt to set forth the scope of the task which I now undertake, and to interpret the purpose of the University in conferring its freedom upon the study of Military History.

Everything, it has been said, depends upon the point

of view. The point of view from which I see our University is that of the nation to which we belong. I conceive of the University as a community of workers for England; and of the service which it performs as consisting in the first place in the maintenance and communication of a spiritual or intellectual standard, and in the second place in the common life which we here share, and which we regard as a preparation for citizenship, as the means by which we train not only the mind but the man. The spirit in which our intellectual work is carried on is set forth in the terse but pregnant terms of the Statute defining the duties of Professors. A Professor is 'to give instruction to students, to assist the pursuit of knowledge, and to contribute to the advancement of it', and he is 'to give assistance to students in their studies by advice, by informal instruction, and otherwise as he may judge to be expedient'. In these clauses, the University recognizes the character of knowledge as something living and growing, rather than as an inorganic, inert, and limited mass; and insists on that vital connexion between the advancement of knowledge and its communication which makes it the first qualification of the teacher that he should be himself a learner. It recognizes further that, to use the words of one of Oxford's great men, 'in the higher regions of instruction it is not the substance of what is communicated, but the act of communication between the older and the younger mind, which is the important matter.'

If, in the twofold service which Oxford renders to the nation, I place first the advancement of learning as the means by which the University becomes a source of ideas which are to permeate and inspire the community, it is because this is the function which qualifies her for

her other duty—that of education. Here she is a labourer in a specific field. I hardly think you will quarrel with me when I assert that the special education which we have to consider here is the training of servants for the nation, a training for citizenship and for that statesmanship which is but citizenship raised to a higher power. If we are to fulfil that mission, we must cherish in our students the qualities in virtue of which they can render service. Our common life should give them an object, their country, and accustom them to do their work with that object in view. The purpose of our instruction is to communicate to them the power of seeing things as they are, which is synonymous with science or true knowledge. So long as our University can send out her young men thus prepared and inspired for citizenship, so long will she be a faithful servant—or, if you prefer another name, a leader—of this nation.

There has been in this country for some time past a certain despondency; many people have come to think that England is standing still while other nations are moving on and leaving her behind; and there are some who seem to think that Oxford herself is stationary, if not stagnant. I have to submit to you a more hopeful view, to give you reasons for faith in our country, and for the belief that Oxford still is, and will continue to be, a spring of thought and a source of action.

Forty-four years ago we were told that the business of criticism was 'to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known to create a current of true and fresh ideas'. The effort thus described has been carried on not only elsewhere but here also. Men trained in the spirit of that effort have been spread abroad through these islands, and through the British Empire. As a result

of their labours, the people of this country have lost the self-complacency that marked the middle of the Victorian age. They have measured themselves, the nation and its institutions, by higher standards. This is the cause of the dissatisfaction which is so widespread and so profound. It is the dissatisfaction not of despair but of the resolve to approximate, as far as is compatible with human imperfection, to the better ideals that have been set up.

In this healthy process of self-criticism, or of the expansion of ideals, Oxford has her part, due not only to her national environment, but also to the continuity of her own labours. It used to be, and I fancy still is, the characteristic feature of Oxford studies that their main current runs in the humanities. We learn from our Greek teachers to regard the State as the medium of human life, to believe its purpose to be the sustenance of a good life, its fruit and justification the creation of a noble type of character to be impressed upon all its citizens. Our effort to see things as they really are compels us to be ever considering the State in all its varying relations, so that our conception may correspond with the living growth of human society. But life and growth are prior to reflection, and speculative thought necessarily follows after rather than precedes the facts; and thus our political thinking follows after rather than precedes the phenomena of English national life, though we may hope that our attempts at analysis and synthesis may lead to fresh and true ideas, to be afterwards with beneficial effect diffused through the community.

Among the impulses of this national life which have marked the last fifty years is one which has only comparatively recently made itself felt in the region

of political consciousness or theory, the renewal of the perception that the State has external relations which may take the form of conflict. Our political thinkers have slowly and reluctantly become aware of a change in their views of the nature of peace, which is at length seen to be insufficiently accounted for by the absence of energy, and suspected to consist rather in an equilibrium than in an absence of forces. The system of states, of which we have long thought as purely European, but which in our own day has revealed itself as world-wide in extent, is seen to owe the existence of such equipoise as it possesses rather to the constant operation of a multitude of counteracting pressures than to a universal inertia. It is beginning to be felt that a theory of the State which regards it purely from within, as something existing isolated in space with no external relations, must be supplemented and corrected by a theory of the relations between States, and of the place of physical forces in those relations. The people of England have gradually come to see that war is a part of the real world, and that the idea of the State cannot be fully comprehended without a knowledge of the principles of international statics and dynamics.

This perception has followed, not preceded, the spontaneous movement of the national life, of which the first expression was the Volunteer movement in 1859, the second the agitations of 1888 and of 1894 for the expansion of the Navy. Both these movements were followed by an impulse towards the study of war, which was strengthened by the chief events of contemporary history—the great Civil War in the United States, the conflicts between Prussia and Austria, and between United Germany and the Third French Empire. The Volunteer movement made itself felt in Oxford,

though it hardly became an integral part of the life of the University. Here and there a student was attracted to inquire into the phenomena of war and into the history of wars ; a not very large number of young men received a slight initiation into the military life ; a still smaller number associated themselves for tactical exercises in the shape of the Kriegspiel or War-game. At the time when this took place, about 1875, English military literature of permanent value was represented almost entirely by the work of Sir Edward Hamley. Modern English naval literature had not then come into existence. It was not till 1883 that a Chichele Professor of Modern History published a life of Lord Hawke, which preceded the Treatise on Naval Warfare written by the late Admiral Philip Colomb, himself the disciple of his greater brother, the late Sir John Colomb.

The crisis of the South African War at length brought home to the people of this country the reality of a phenomenon they had too long ignored. This produced an awakening effect upon Oxford, and in particular upon All Souls College, which had some years before specially dedicated itself to the service of the University, with the result which I have already suggested as the natural accompaniment of such dedication. Two Fellows of All Souls independently undertook to write the history of that war ; and, soon after the pacification, the University began to take its share in the national effort towards military reorganization. A number of commissions in the Army were thrown open under certain conditions to graduates of the Universities, Oxford admitted the subject of Military History as a special subject for candidates for Honours in the School of Modern History, and in 1905 the University, in conse-

quence of the gift of a private donor, established a Lecturership in that subject. The chosen Lecturer, Sir Foster Cunliffe, set the example both to his students and successors of diligent and unwearying research, especially into the great campaigns of Napoleon. It was his endeavour to make military history teach war by the full and accurate ascertainment of the facts from the contemporary documents so far as by industry and perseverance they could be made available. In the course of last Term, All Souls College submitted to the University a proposal that the Lecturership should be transformed into a Professorship, and the sanction of the University enabled that intention to be realized. Thus the University has bestowed its full franchise upon the study of war. The foundation of the Chair then, so far from being a fortuitous event, is the direct outcome of that close contact which has long existed, and which from year to year becomes more intimate, between Oxford and the national life of England.

After the sketch I have given you of the origin of the Chair there is no need to dwell at much length upon its necessity, its logical justification. Yet it may be well to remind ourselves that we can no longer think of the University as capable of doing its duty without having in its scheme of work a place for the study of war.

Our first business is what the Greeks called *θεωρία*, seeing things as they are. We must get our vision of the actual world into accordance with the facts, before we can profitably attempt to dream of a better world.

One of our main occupations here is with the life of mankind, which is realized only in political communities or states. In our school of Literae Humaniores we

study the idea of the State; in our schools of History the life and growth of states. It is to this part of the University's work that the study of war belongs. For war is one of the modes of human intercourse. It is the form assumed by the conflict between communities of men, the shape assumed by the acuter stages of the struggle between states. A study of the State or of states that should omit to examine war must needs be crippled and defective. It would be like a study of the ship which should take no account of the sea. An ethics or a politics which failed to analyse the nature and meaning of the conflict of wills and of the collision between states would be an ethics and a politics out of touch with the real world in which we live.

We are thus bound to study war if we are to cultivate true ideas or to advance a healthy learning. And, if we are to turn out citizens or statesmen equipped for their functions in the actual State, we are bound to teach the nature of war.

The first and most important of all the facts in regard to war is that in its inception, in its course, and in its conclusion, the control and direction of a war, or of the activity of a state in and in regard to war, is the function primarily of the statesman rather than of the soldier, and that in regard to war the architectonic art is policy or politics, not strategy or generalship, which is not the master but the servant. This is the very first of the principles which constitute what is called the Art of War. If we use the word policy as a name for the personified intelligence and will of the State, then, says the military historian, it is the business of policy on every occasion to decide whether or not the State shall engage in conflict with another state, and to base that decision upon a true estimate of the nature of the

probable conflict, of the risks and exertions to be undertaken, and of the evils which may be incurred either by shrinking from a necessary struggle, or by entering into one which is unnecessary. Evidently, if this choice is to be rightly made, the statesman must be acquainted with war; he need not be a master of the art, he need not himself be able to handle fleets or armies; but he ought to have a true knowledge of what can and what cannot be done by those instruments, and of the way in which their use or misuse will react upon the well-being of the community which puts its trust in him.

This being the case, a University which ignored war could hardly be a good school for those who may become statesmen. By the adoption of democratic forms of government, by the acceptance of the representative system with all its consequences, the British State has been popularized or nationalized. To it therefore applies a saying which I recollect from one of the lectures of my master, William Wallace, whose untimely loss those of you who were his contemporaries here so deeply deplore. After quoting the words of Plato, that, if the State was to be what it ought to be, philosophers must be its rulers, Wallace said: 'The reply of the modern spirit is that the people must and shall become philosophers.'

So much by way of demonstration of the necessity to the University of the study of Military History. Before I can submit to you a view of its aim and scope within the sphere of the University, I must give a brief account of the view of its nature which results from the labours of two or three generations of military historians.

Military History is the effort to understand war, to get to know what war is and what it means. There

is no method of getting to know war except the study of wars, and the only wars that can be studied are either wars that have happened and are over, or a war that is taking place. But a war that is taking place cannot be fully known. While it lasts, no one whatever can be fully acquainted with it. Neither of the Commanders-in-Chief know more than a fraction of what his enemy is thinking and doing, and no one except a Commander-in-Chief and those in his intimate confidence is aware of more than a portion of what is passing in the army to which he belongs or with which he is in communication.

Accordingly, if we wish to study a war and to get to know exactly what happened in it, we have to wait until after its close, when the reasons for secrecy have ceased to exist, when both sides have become willing to let the facts be known, and when the principal actors have recorded so much as they are able or willing to divulge of their experience. This time does not come as a rule until long after the events, for neither governments nor individuals are very ready to let the world know all their motives, or to have their conduct fully laid bare and open to discussion. Reasons of state, considerations of friendship and of regard for the reputation of distinguished men, tend to postpone as long as possible the disclosure of the exact truth, which in some cases never becomes known.

For these reasons, full and trustworthy knowledge of any war is obtainable only as the result of that prolonged and patient research to which we give the name of History.

If we wish to know what war is in itself, what it means for us, for our nation, and for mankind, we must study not one particular war, but as many wars as

possible, in order by comparison between them to learn what features and characteristics they have in common, whether the events which composed them happened at random, or whether they happened as they did by reason of some inherent necessity. We cannot but wish to discover whether there is not an order in the infinite variety which they exhibit. But the only basis either for a science or for an art of war is Military History, the record of the facts ascertained by methodical collection, sifting, and classification of the evidence.

The features common to all wars are that they are acts of force or violence with a political aim. They are acts of state. Apart from these common characteristics, wars differ almost infinitely one from another. The mode of action of the Greek City State in forcible conflict with a similar community or with the Persian Empire differs from that of the Roman Commonwealth, and ancient armies had little resemblance either in respect of weapons or of organization to the levies of the feudal nobles of the Middle Age. The first standing army was the beginning of the collapse of feudalism, yet it was a very different thing from the army maintained by one of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century. As the State is, so will its army be; and the war of any age is the reflection of the political and social condition of the communities engaged in it. Weapons will embody the progress of the constructive arts and industries. Communications will be such as society has made for itself. The organization will be the expression of the community's conception of itself as a more or less organized body. Thus the determining factor is always the nature and character of the States engaged in the war; and changes in weapons, carrying with them modifications in tactics,

are but a portion of the development given to war by the development of political communities.

This cardinal principle is, so to speak, the backbone of our knowledge of the reality of war. Considerations of time compel me to illustrate it in a logical rather than a strictly historical form. The State is the organized attempt of a community to realize its conception of the best life. It will not therefore rationally engage in a war except to overcome some obstacle in the way of its realizing the purpose of its existence. Accordingly, in the ideal the whole sum of its energies will be concentrated in the struggle, and the logical process would be that so soon as the struggle was determined upon, the whole resources of the State would be mobilized for a sharp and decisive effort, the whole nation would rush to arms and move in a concentrated mass to overthrow in a single battle the equally concentrated force of the adversary, after which the successful power would take possession of the territory and the State of its defeated adversary. The conditions of such rapid and concentrated action, in which the whole energies of the State would be collected into a single blow, are the perfect organization of the nation for the pursuit of its ends and the absolute control of the community thus organized by a Government which fully represented the intelligence and will of all the citizens. This would be the character of the war of an ideal State. The cause would seem just to every citizen, whose faith in the State would inspire him with unlimited devotion to its purposes, so that as a matter of course he would be ready to sacrifice himself to them.

This conception of war was revealed in the wars

of the French Revolution and Empire. The people of France regarded themselves as having taken possession of the French State, of which roughly speaking they were in accord with the purposes, and the permanent requisition or *levée en masse* was the enunciation of the idea of the nation in arms. The grandeur of these conceptions led to an enthusiasm till then unprecedented, and to a breadth of design in the military operations which had never before been known. The military history of the nineteenth century is the history of a persistent endeavour more perfectly to realize this conception of war. First Prussia and then Germany reorganized the State with a view to attaining the utmost development of collective action in conflict with other states; and the pattern thus disclosed was inevitably adopted by the other states one after another, with success which varied according to the stage of national organization to which the several states had attained.

According to the time during which a conflict is prolonged, to the duration of the struggle with the enemy, is the extent to which it is capable of voluntary and intelligent direction during its course. A war that consisted of a long series of battles between comparatively small forces might resemble the series of thrusts and parries of a couple of skilled fencers; but the rush of a whole population into the territories of a hostile state, leading directly to a collision between two concentrated armies, tends rather to resemble some great explosion which, once the train has been laid and the match applied, admits of no further control or guidance. In proportion as war has assumed the character of a conflict between highly organized nations, and in proportion as the military intention has been to crush

and destroy the military forces of the adversary, has been the strength of the tendency to put the main work of direction, the chief effort of the guiding military intelligence, into the period of preparation preceding the actual collision. Campaigns have become shorter and more decisive, and the work of generalship has more and more shown its effectiveness in the previous elaboration of the design. Napoleon, in his great campaigns, collected almost his entire army into a single organized mass, threw it after a few days' march upon a fraction or the whole of the enemy's army, crushed that army in a single decisive battle, and then occupied the enemy's capital and dictated his terms. In the same way, Moltke, within a few days of the outbreak of war, crushed and reduced to impotence in a single battle, or in a short series of battles, the mass of the enemy's organized forces.

Thus the developments of war are the developments of the organization of society, and its increasing intensity, rapidity, and decisiveness are the results of progressive organization which more and more identifies the whole people with the State.

The wars of the French Revolution and Empire manifested an energy and a ruthlessness which had long been unknown. They represented a new type, the conflict between nationalized states. It was the achievement of Clausewitz that he first recognized this new type of war, and its origin in the new type of State which had come into existence. He asked himself whether it was merely the passing phenomenon of a day, or would reappear and persist in the future. He was driven to the conclusion that whenever national states should come into conflict in behalf of interests which the mass of their people could recognize as

vital, the war between them would resemble the wars of the French Revolution and Empire both in the energy which would be devoted to it and in the grandeur of its designs.

The experience of three-quarters of a century has confirmed the view suggested by Clausewitz that whenever a war should be the affair of a whole nation deeply stirred by the cause of quarrel, there would be devoted to it a corresponding proportion of the nation's resources, and the operations would reveal a correspondingly great and comprehensive plan. The conditions which produce the extreme energy of war, what Clausewitz called war in its absolute form, have not always accompanied all the campaigns that have been fought since he wrote. There have been conflicts in which neither side has been a nationalized State, and conflicts in which that quality could not be predicated of both sides; but where the conditions have been fulfilled, the prophecy of Clausewitz has been realized. The notable instances are the Civil War in the United States of America, the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, and the war between Germany and France in 1870. The last great war in the Far East was a case in which one side (Japan) was a nationalized State in which the motives of the war vibrated in the spirit of every member of the community, while the adversary (Russia) was very far removed from that stage of political development in which the political purpose of the struggle could be reflected in the mind and conscience of every citizen or of every combatant. Our own struggle in South Africa was a case in which two small and uncentralized States of great territorial extent were inspired by a common determination with which the mass of their citizens were imbued. The

whole mass therefore threw itself with great determination into the conflict; but on the British side there were lacking on the part of the statesmen in the first instance that clearness of conception and that lucidity of exposition which might have brought home to the whole body of citizens the necessity and the justice of the cause, so that the national character of the war was by no means fully understood until the crisis was past. Accordingly, the nation was surprised at what happened; and both the nation and its members of all classes, both the soldiers and those who were citizens without being soldiers, received the impression that there was something in the nature of war which they had not thoroughly grasped, and which it might be desirable to understand. Those who made the attempt to penetrate beneath the surface, and to ascertain the bond between cause and effect in the events of that war, were led to believe that citizens and soldiers alike would be benefited by an abandonment of the neglect with which the subject of war had too long been treated. From the searchings of heart of that period have resulted changes in the military organization, changes in the arrangements for military education, as well as an expansion of the studies of more than one University. Thus the movement of which one of the results is our presence here to-day has been of very long and gradual growth spreading over the whole world. It has as yet hardly exercised its full pressure upon our own country, which however will be carried along in the stream of nationalizing and organizing effort until there has been created in one way or another an organization for war by land and sea of all the resources of the nation.

The tendency of war towards concentration of effort, towards the accumulation in a single decisive collision

of all the forces which a nation can accumulate, is best seen when the theatre of war is the sea. At sea a fleet can move at twenty times the rate at which an army can walk along the surface of the ground. The ships carry in them all the necessaries of life and action, so that a fleet does not, like an army, trail behind it a lengthening chain of vulnerable communications. There are in the open sea no such geographical features as enable an army to find obstacles which may serve as shelter against the enemy's attacks. At sea, therefore, the difference between attack and defence resolves itself into little more than the difference between confidence and hesitation. Accordingly, naval warfare is apt to be decided in a single battle, in which the bulk of the forces of both sides are engaged, and which, by the almost complete destruction of the force of the defeated side, determines the issues. The nation that aspires in the event of war to assert for itself the command of the sea may, therefore, have to hazard its fate upon a single battle, of which the result will in most cases have been predetermined by the character of the national efforts made during a long preceding period of preparation. The historian sees in Trafalgar and in Tsusima nothing but the inevitable consequence of the previous lives of the navies concerned.

In the modern world, when a nation—that is, a people organized as a state—goes to war, the energy developed is so great that nothing but a similarly organized body can hope to withstand the shock; and the effort involved on each side is so intense that it must for the time being absorb the whole of the national energies and carry with it a temporary suspension of all other forms of activity. The effect of war upon the State which has been successfully invaded is comparable only to that

of some great natural cataclysm. The ravages of war, even when carried on by a highly civilized and thoroughly disciplined army, resemble in their effects those of the flood or of the earthquake.

But it is a mistake to dwell too much upon the physical aspects of war. Far more important is its spiritual character, of which the significance has been increased a hundred-fold by the development of its national quality. A nation cannot be called to arms and mobilized except for the assertion of some cause which appeals to the hearts and the consciences of the mass of its citizens. For a nation, therefore, to go to war, except in behalf of a cause which makes that appeal, is to court defeat. There cannot in such a case be that sudden and tremendous development of energy without which it is idle to hope for victory. The more closely, therefore, a statesman has familiarized himself with the nature of war and the more deeply he has explored the causes of victory and defeat, the more profoundly will he be convinced that the ultimate secret of success lies in the cause in behalf of which he calls on his people to draw the sword.

But the time when causes must be scrutinized is not when a dispute has begun, when prejudices fill the air, and when passions quicken the pulses. The origin of wars lies in the conflict of policies, in the incompatibility of the purposes of two states; the time to weigh the possibilities of conflict is when the national policy is taking shape. The chief result, therefore, of the study of military history is to force us to ask the question: What is the purpose of national life, and what the specific purpose of our own nation? Oxford is the home of the doctrine that the State arises for the purpose of rendering human life possible, and that the object of

its development is to sustain a noble life in which its citizens shall be sharers. A noble life is a life of service to the community, and a great nation is one that serves the other nations of mankind. We have learned each for himself from a great leader of war that England expects every man to do his duty. Let us learn also, when called upon in our capacity as citizens to consider the national policy, to say to ourselves that Englishmen expect England to do her duty.

I have dwelt at perhaps too much length upon the main truths disclosed by military history as to the nature of war, partly because I think that too little attention has been paid to them, and partly because I derive from them my conception of the scope and method of the University study of war. The Statute prescribes that the Professor shall lecture and give instruction in military history, with special reference to the conditions of modern warfare. In the matter of warfare, the modern epoch begins in 1792 with the first appearance of the nation in the field. The period to which we must devote special attention is from 1792, to the latest date up to which the publication or the accessibility of sufficient evidence enables us to obtain accurate knowledge and to form a trustworthy judgement of the events. The area thus given for our exploration is considerable. It includes a number of wars of the first magnitude, and a number of leaders of considerable power—several of them stars of the first magnitude. I confess that I am specially attracted by the two greatest of them, by Napoleon and Moltke—by Napoleon, because he was the originator of modern methods as well as the greatest master of the art; by Moltke, because he inherited and developed the tradition of the Napoleonic age, transforming and applying to conditions in many respects

new the ideas developed in the earlier period. The researches of the last thirty years have thrown a new light upon the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and it seems prudent to begin by the attempt to appreciate those wars by the aid of the now available mass of evidence. My own special endeavour has been for some years to trace the genesis of Napoleon's generalship from his early studies, from the environment in which he grew up, and from the teaching which he inherited, in order to arrive at an historical understanding of the rise of modern strategy; and I hope that some of my students will be able to associate themselves with me in that attempt.

There are three processes involved in the work of the military historian. The first is the kind of criticism which is here taught in the schools of History, the sifting of the evidence with a view to the establishment of the facts. This is, and always must be, the basis of all our work, for without it we shall be dealing not with reality but with dreams. History resembles Antaeus, who lost his strength when lifted out of contact with the earth on which he walked—in the case of history the facts as established by evidence.

The second process consists in the application of the military judgement. It is the attempt to arrange the facts in their connexion of cause and effect, and requires us to trace the course of the events with sufficient minuteness to make sure so far as may be that we know the intentions and the motives of the chief actors. It is perhaps not the historian's business to distribute praise and blame, but it may be his function to inquire upon occasion whether the means employed were those most suitable to produce the result desired. This is the third process, of which you may like to have an illustration.

In 1797 Napoleon, who in the previous year had driven the Austrian armies from the north of Italy and made himself master of the plain from the Alps to the Ticino and of the hills as far north as the Brenner, set out with such forces as he could collect to advance on the line from Verona to Vienna. The Austrian Government saw itself compelled to withdraw for the defence of Vienna the portion of its forces which was facing the French armies in South Germany, and with which, in 1796, the Archduke Charles had brilliantly defeated those armies. The Archduke Charles collected a small army in the north-east of Italy at the foot of the mountains which interposed between the Italian plain and the plain of Austria-Hungary. He put himself as well as he could between Napoleon and his objective. The first critical historian of this war, Jomini, expressed the opinion that the Archduke Charles would have done better if he had collected his army in the Tyrol and thereby compelled Napoleon to turn to his left rather than go straight on. The next great critic, Clausewitz, was unwilling to disapprove of the action of a commander previously so prudent and able as the Archduke Charles. He therefore speculated on the reasons which might have induced the Archduke to follow the course which he actually adopted, and these speculations will always be worth studying because they reveal the breadth and the strength of the judgement of one of the greatest of all critics. Clausewitz had no means of knowing, and was aware that he had no means of knowing, the principal fact, namely, the real ideas and intentions of the Archduke. Many years after the death of Clausewitz were published the military memoirs of the Archduke, who in them discussed this question. After

reviewing the situation at the opening of the campaign, he says: 'To all these unfavourable circumstances were further added the erroneous views of the Archduke Charles, who was recalled from the Rhine and replaced at the head of the troops in Italy, and whose mind was too much dominated by old-fashioned ideas. . .. Accordingly, he took up a quite unsuitable, mistaken position, leaving only a small force in Tyrol, and collecting the greater part on the Tagliamento.'

In this kind of inquiry the military judgement is formed, and it may be found useful for the student from time to time to give it further exercise by attempting in the imagination an independent solution of the problems with which generals in the past have been confronted. For the conclusion that a particular operation was not the most appropriate for the end in view cannot be demonstrated except by an exposition of a more appropriate means, and by the examination of what would have been the probable results of its employment.

I think it would be in accordance with the spirit of the Statute that I should from time to time, as opportunity offers, try to show for the benefit of historical students not directly concerned with military history, the way in which the modern knowledge of war throws light on some of the obscure problems with which historians sometimes deal. I hope, for example, at no very distant date, to discuss in the light of modern military research the problem, sometimes thought insoluble, of Hannibal's passage across the Alps.

I do not conceive it to be the function of the University to undertake the technical instruction of professional officers, or to give its students practice in the art of leading troops. Yet the University may well be of some use to those who have charge of the

management of the army. If our work is rightly carried on, we may throw some light upon aspects of war with which the professional soldier has not always time to occupy himself; and we shall hope to derive help and guidance from the historical and other scientific labours carried on by the general staff at the War Office. The greatest services, however, which the University can render to the army, as to the nation, must consist in the effort which we carry on to obtain and to communicate true ideas of human life and society, and in the inspiration which we may be able to give to our students. If we are able to send out into the working life of England a stream of men of sound intellectual training, with a large outlook on life and a high purpose of service to the nation, it is for the army to attract them to the particular career which it has to offer.

The ultimate outcome of the activity of the military historian is the insight which he gains into the nature of war, and which he may attempt to express in a view or theory of its nature and of its several parts or manifestations. I doubt whether there has been in recent times an English view of war. English students for the most part have accepted the theory set forth either by Jomini, the head of the French school, or by Clausewitz, the founder after Scharnhorst of the German school. To some, these two views have seemed to be inconsistent with one another, and there have been those who have tried, both in discussion and in action, to defend one theory against the other, very much as those politicians whose thinking is divorced from history imagine the State to be the *corpus vile* upon which experiments may be made concerning the results of particular abstract theories. More than three-quarters of a century have passed since Jomini and Clausewitz gave to the world

such insight as they had acquired during a generation of war into its nature and workings. In my view, the subsequent experience reconciles and confirms them both, and I have often thought it possible that the continuance of their labours might well be the work of some English hand. To-day, I cannot but dream of an Oxford School of War developing that which time has confirmed of the ideas of the older writers into a fresh yet true idea adequate to the needs of the present day and of our own people. It would attempt to be a vision and not a dream, and would base itself upon such knowledge as Oxford can supply of the nature of society and of the State.

I may perhaps venture, in illustration of my fancy, to touch upon one point where I suspect that the ideas of the German thinkers are open to discussion. From the evident necessity for harmony between policy and strategy they deduce the conclusion that it is desirable that the political and the strategical direction of the State should be in a single hand. That doctrine seems to me to lend itself to a possible inversion of the true relations between the two activities. A strategist in supreme authority may easily underrate the magnitude of those ethical laws which manifest themselves in the life of nations. Is there not a contrast to be drawn between Napoleon and Moltke? The more we study the conduct of Napoleon's campaigns, the more we must admire his splendid insight into the laws of force. Yet is it not clear that he was blind to some of the laws of spiritual and national life, and is it not the conflict between his insight and his blindness which invests the story of his catastrophe with something of the awe of tragedy? The work of Moltke may have been less brilliant, but his victories have certainly had more durable results, and his serene end recalls the ancient saying

that we must estimate no man's happiness until his career is over. Now Moltke was not, as Napoleon was, the master of his State. His strategical genius was not the dictator, but the obedient servant of his country. Perhaps the deepest secret of his career is to be found in the words inscribed on the little chapel which he erected in the grounds of his Silesian country house as a monument to what was dearest to him—the words 'Love is the fulfilling of the law'.

Permit me now, in conclusion, to collect into a focus the thought which I have been trying to express. My purpose has been to set before you a true idea of war, that being the end and aim of my presence in the University as Professor of Military History. A true idea is like a living thing that grows from a small seed, and its peculiar quality is that from the beginning to the end of its growth it remains the same, developing from an original kernel to a great and complicated organism. The true idea of war is that it is a social effort, a form of the struggle of a society for self-realization, its peculiar form being that of violent conflict with another society, its rival or enemy. This way of looking at war gives the clue to all the phenomena observed in the history of innumerable wars. It accounts for changes and developments in the organization of combatant forces, in their armament and administration, in their tactics, and in the mechanism of their command and control. From this point of view we are able to understand the relation between the statesman and the naval or military commander, and to grasp the necessity of modifications of military systems in accordance with the metamorphoses which the State itself undergoes.

Applying this simple idea to the well-known facts of

modern history, we have seen how the transformation of the State which marked the close of the eighteenth century, the transition from the monarchical to the democratic organization, brought with it the possibility of a great expansion of the energies and resources available for conflict. Once that possibility had been revealed in action the several states found themselves in turn compelled to reckon with it, until the modern State, of which the general character is that of a whole people organized for political purposes, or, as we say in a single word, a nation, has tended to become, for that kind of self-realization which we know as war, a nation in arms. This idea of the nature of war I have put before you as the essence of the teaching of that military history which is identical with the science of war. If it is a true idea it ought to explain all the phenomena, great and small. I have therefore applied it in the explanation of the beginnings of military studies at Oxford; and that inquiry has shown, I trust to your satisfaction, that our University is, in this as in other branches, consciously or unconsciously doing work in the service of our country of which, though the fruits are not yet seen, the character and quality may be divined.

I have suggested that the development of the national organization is bound by the conditions of the world to adapt itself in some measure to the needs of ever-possible conflict, so that our nation must and will find its mode of constituting itself as a fighting power. In that development Oxford will have her part, which I imagine must be, according to the nature of her activities, to cultivate, develop, and diffuse the true idea of the nature of war.

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THE STUDY OF ROMAN LAW TO-DAY

Inaugural Lecture delivered May 12, 1920

Before the University of Oxford

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By

F. DE ZULUETA, D.C.L.

Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford
Formerly Fellow of New College

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THE STUDY OF ROMAN LAW TO-DAY

THE position held by Roman Law in the legal curriculum of the University at the present day is mainly due to the work of my predecessor Professor Goudy, who held the Chair of Civil Law with such distinction, learning, and tact from 1894 until 1919, and to that of my tutor, Dr. Moyle. My chief duty as trustee will be to hand down the legacy unimpaired to the next generation. In order to do this, it will not suffice to maintain the existing investments. Trustee securities, when left to themselves, have a well-known tendency to depreciate. I do not propose, therefore, to begin my office by taking as my theme the educational value of Roman Law, considered as a vast deposit of dead knowledge, but rather to show that it is a living and progressive subject; an international study, in which important and interesting results are proceeding, and to which new wealth is being added from year to year.

I am attempting, therefore, a review of the most recent work considered in its general tendencies, and I hope, in publishing my lecture, to add bibliographical details which, if obvious to the specialist, may be of use to some who, like myself, have several years of reading to make up. Time and space compel me to limit myself to the ages ending with the death of Justinian.[1]

[1] In the following notes *Z. S. S.* = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Romanistische Abteilung*; *N. R. H.* = *Nouvelle Revue His-*

I

On textual questions, in the strict sense, I need not say much, as the fundamental texts have been substantially settled by the labours of Mommsen and his school in the nineteenth century, culminating in the edition of the *Codex Theodosianus* in 1905.

For the Digest, Mommsen ended the anarchy of competing manuscripts by enthroning the despotism of the Florentine. That despotism has been the basis of all modern work; the modifications which Mommsen's monumental edition are seen to require after fifty years are not fundamental. The editors of the unfinished Italian pocket edition of 1908 point out, first, that Mommsen, in spite of his caution, put too much reliance on the Byzantine versions of the Digest, because these are now known to have been based in part on pre-Justinian versions of classical texts;[1] secondly, that the results of the modern study of interpolations indicate that, where Mommsen saw copyists' errors and therefore ground for emendation, we ought often to recognize the botching of Justinian's compilers. Grammatical and other mistakes, which would properly be purged by emendation in editing a classical text, may be the authentic text of Tribonian's patchwork.[2]

The method of botching will not, however, explain everything. Sometimes the Florentine makes the compilers say what even they cannot be held responsible for, and where the Basilica concur with the Florentine,

torique de Droit Français et Étranger; *L. Q. R.* = *Law Quarterly Review*; *B. I. D. R.* = *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano.*

[1] Riccobono, *Mélanges Fitting*, 2, 465; *B. I. D. R.* 18, 197.

[2] Preface to the Italian edition. Girard, *Manuel*[6] (1918), 83, 5; *N. R. H.* 1912, 567–72; Schulz, *Einführung in das Studium der Digesten* (1916), 17.

so that the mistake must go back, in all probability, at least as far as Tribonian's own archetype, you have the equivalent of a misprint in an official copy of a statute. Appleton has recently pointed out that the most disastrous mistake of all, and the easiest for a copyist to make, namely the omission or insertion of a negative, can not infrequently be referred to the archetype.[1] Again, the faulty expansion of the *notae iuris*, or law abbreviations, has been detected in places, and this can hardly have occurred in the tradition between the archetype and the Florentine; but whether such errors are due to the scribes of the archetype, to the compilers themselves, or to their predecessors, cannot in general be determined.[2]

These are small points after all, but the big question of the independent value of the Bolognese manuscripts has also been reopened. Kantorowicz,[3] in two brilliant articles published shortly before the war, maintains that the corrections of the Florentine, which Mommsen admitted these manuscripts would supply for certain of the earlier books of the Digest, are more numerous and extend to more books (notably to the *Digestum Novum*) than Mommsen allowed. Krüger has pronounced against this thesis, Lenel for it. Only a complete collation of all manuscripts and early printed editions could settle the question absolutely. Meanwhile the nearest approach to it is Gebauer and Spangenberg's edition of 1776.[4]

The manuscript tradition of the *Codex* is far worse than that of the Digest, but Krüger's edition[5] holds

[1] *N. R. H.* 1916, 1. [2] Krüger, *Mélanges Girard*, 2, 35.
[3] *Z. S. S.* 1909, 183; 1910, 14.
[4] Krüger, *Quellen*[2], 431–2, 438, 17; Girard, *Manuel*[6], 83, 5.
[5] Ninth, 1915, with new matter in notes and *additamenta*, otherwise a reprint.

the field. Seckel, however,[1] has drawn attention to a deficiency in Krüger's apparatus. It does not mention the Stuttgart manuscript of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, containing the whole *Codex*. This manuscript is, therefore, coeval with the earliest manuscripts of the *Tres Libri*, and its first nine books would enable its value to be appreciated.

I have nothing that I can usefully say on the *Codex Theodosianus*,[2] nor on the novels.[3] Kniep's nearly completed edition of *Gaius*, to which I will recur, raises questions which are not strictly of textual criticism.[4] But before leaving the subject of texts, I should like to point out how much more fortunate we are than our forefathers in the extremely practical collections of *Fontes* which exist. It would mark a real advance in our elementary studies if the possession of Girard's *Textes* or Riccobono's *Fontes* were a matter of course for every undergraduate.[5]

II

The general direction of our material studies is now historical, and the tradition of treating Justinian's lawbooks chiefly and primarily as a Code to be interpreted

[1] *Distinctiones Glossatorum*, 333.

[2] See Krüger, *Z. S. S.* 1913, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919; Gradenwitz, ibid., 1917.

[3] See however Ebrard, *Z. S. S.* 1919, 113, and the literature there cited.

[4] Kniep, *Der Rechtsgelehrte Gaius*, &c., 1910. Text of Institutes, with valuable commentary and appendices, in parts, 1911–17, the last concluding book 3. See Fehr, *Z. S. S.* 1911, 390; 1913, 416.

[5] These contain practically the same epigraphic and papyrological material as Bruns, *Fontes* i, and have the additional advantage of including the *Iurisprudentia Anteiustinianea*. But Bruns, *Fontes* ii, with its selections from Festus, Isidore, and so forth, is still handy, and Gradenwitz's Index to i is very important.

and adapted to practical use belongs to the past. The leadership in Romanistic studies has in the nineteenth century belonged unquestionably to Germany, and it is no accident that the change in point of view has accompanied, without completely coinciding with, the supersession of Roman Law as law in force in Germany. Our interest in the *Corpus Iuris* thus consists in recovering from the harmonizing text of the compilers dogmatic differences between every age and every jurist, in underlining those discrepancies of thought, expression, and decision which, so long as the *Corpus Iuris* was considered simply as a Code, it was our object to suppress and explain away.[1]

This change is not without disadvantages from the point of view of elementary curriculum. The law as it stood at the death of Justinian is itself an historical fact, and not an historical fact like any other. The immense interest of the search for the half-buried classical law must not make us law-teachers forget the more urgent task of systematic exposition of the law of Justinian, which is a firm holding-ground between the largely hypothetical classical law on the one hand and the morasses of the mediaeval civil law on the other. And our future Rhodes Professor of Roman-Dutch Law will not allow us to forget that the Civil Law is still in force in certain parts of the British Empire.

A survey of the literature of the past five or six years reveals two main problems of method. They are the application of Comparative Law to the origins of Roman Law, and the interpolation question. These two problems are not distinct when we are dealing with concrete questions. Comparative Law has a big contribution to

[1] See Girard's address to the Society of Public Teachers of Law, 1911, published *N. R. H.* 1912, 557.

make to the later history of Roman Law. In particular, there is no period of Roman Law for which the question of the influence of Greek Law is not raised, and the recognition of the unity of Mediterranean civilization has led to Greek and Hellenistic Law, not to mention more Oriental systems, having become a branch of Romanistic studies. This is a comparison of law from the point of view of continuity, to adopt the distinction of Professor Vinogradoff,[1] or of imitation, to adopt that of M. Tarde.[2] What I am referring to here, in the first place, is Comparative Law in the sense of parallel evolution.

Similarly, the interpolation question is not foreign to the earliest period. The direct evidence for that period being small and peculiar, we have to disentangle the reminiscences of earlier traditions from the classical texts, and for that purpose to restore those texts to their original form.

In concrete questions, therefore, the two methods are not distinct, but, on this occasion, I will treat them separately.

III

Accepting the teaching of Professor Vinogradoff, that the science of Comparative Law consists not in an uncritical accumulation of more or less similar facts, but in 'the dialectical examination of given principles in various surroundings',[3] the help which a Romanist will expect from Comparative Law is in the interpretation of ideas which we are accustomed to call primitive, and consists in the suggestion of the spirit of distant ages, rather than

[1] *Essays in Legal History*, 1913. Presidential Address.
[2] *Les Transformations du droit.*
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

in the furnishing of exact parallels or the filling of gaps in our knowledge by simple transfer of institutions.

In the department of Wrongs, as is well known, parallelism is very close, and produces the idea of an almost mechanical evolution of law. I would draw attention to an extremely interesting article by Binding, published at the end of last year,[1] in which, renewing an old theme, he compares the Twelve Tables system of wrongs to the person with the Germanic.

Less successful seem to me to be Lenel's recent studies in the law of succession.[2] The problem which he examines is the history of *Heredis Institutio*, precisely an idea which is peculiar to Roman Law, and therefore, as Buckland points out, one which is in any case inconsistent with Comparative Law. In the developed law the institution of a universal successor is the *caput et fundamentum totius testamenti*, and it has commonly been supposed to be also its *fons et origo*. An examination of the direct evidence for the early period leads Lenel to the opposite conclusion: testamentary succession was originally singular succession, and thus primitive Roman Law comes into line with German and Greek Law. Here, at any rate, is no explanation of the origin of *Heredis Institutio*, and the later evolution, which Lenel suggests, is the merest hypothesis. Fundamentally, the question is whether Lenel's method is right. The direct evidence is scanty, and the inferences from it very doubtful. Are we to prefer the interpretation suggested by Comparative Law, or that suggested by the whole

[1] *Z. S. S.* 1919, 106. Remarkable for its resolute distinction of *iniuria* (ὕβρις) from *membrum ruptum* and bloody wounding.

[2] *Essays in Legal History*, 120; *Z. S. S.* 1916, 199. See Buckland, *L. Q. R.* 1916, 97; Bonfante, *B. I. D. R.* 27, 97. 112. Also Lévy-Bruhl, *N. R. H.* 1914, 153.

structure of the will in historical times, of which *Heredis Institutio* is the very core? I have no hesitation in preferring the views of Buckland and, to a less degree, of Bonfante.

A quarto first volume of 865 pages by Huvelin on the Sources for the subject of *Furtum* in primitive law[1] provokes the reflection whether our sources for primitive Roman Law are after all so small. *Il faut oser être ennuyeux*, says the author, but his work will rather reinforce the lesson to be derived from some of the best recent French work, that the last word has by no means been said on the sources for the comparatively neglected, but decisive, period separating the Twelve Tables from the classical law.[2] Their intensive study may yet throw back light upon the earlier period.

Nevertheless, it is to Comparative Law that we must look for the best solution of some fundamental problems. Thus, behind the Homeric combat of Girard, Wlassak, and Lenel on the power of the magistrate over the primitive Roman action,[3] is the question of the nature of primitive procedure in general. Does it derive from the magistrate, from the State, or from the parties? So again, modern controversies about the history of the Roman idea of Obligation have turned on the application to Roman Law of the distinction, first made by Brinz,

[1] Lyons and Paris, 1915. See Appleton, *N. R. H.* 1916, 4. Other recent work on *Furtum*: Pampaloni, *B. I. D. R.* 1910 ff.; Schulz, *Z. S. S.* 1911, 23; Buckland, *N. R. H.* 1917, 5; Huvelin, *N. R. H.* 1918, 75; Haymann, *Z. S. S.* 1919, 273.

[2] e. g. several of Girard's studies collected in his *Mélanges de droit romain*, 1912; Desserteaux, *Capitis Deminutio*, 1909, and *N. R. H.* 1912, 423; Vernay, *Servius Sulpicius et son école*, 1910; Debray, *N. R. H.* 1910, 142. 521; ibid. 1919, 1, 128; Herzen, *N. R. H.* 1911, 146.

[3] Literature cited by Girard, *Mélanges*, 1, 114 ff.

a Romanist, which has become classical under the German terms *Schuld* and *Haftung*.[1] The distinction consists in abstracting two elements which are inseparable in the developed notion of Obligation, but which are said to exist apart in some primitive systems, namely, that which is owed, the right of the creditor, and the duty of the debtor (*Schuld*), on the one hand; and the subjection of the debtor to the creditor, in short his liability (*Haftung*), on the other. The easiest illustration is from guarantee. Where, speaking without legal implications, a man complains that he has had to pay what was really another's debt, he is distinguishing *Schuld* and *Haftung*.

In Latin the etymology of *Obligatio* emphasizes the element of liability, and so *Obligatio* may stand for *Haftung*. But there is much greater difficulty in finding a Latin term for *Schuld*. *Debitum* has been made to play the part,[2] but the real question is not whether more or less appropriate Latin terms can be found, but whether the Roman jurists ever felt or worked with the distinction.[3]

I confess that I have not gained much from the play made by some writers with *Debitum* and *Obligatio*. They seem to me over-subtle. I find simply that the

[1] Vinogradoff, *Essays in Legal History*, l. c.; Kretschmar, *Konfusion*, 1899; *Erfüllung*, 1906; *Z. S. S.* 1917, 325. Perozzi, *Obbligazioni*, 1903; Collinet, *Mélanges Gérardin*, 1907, 75; Champeaux, *Mélanges Girard*, 1, 155 (containing the fullest references to non-Romanistic literature, e. g. 2 Pollock and Maitland, 185 ff.); Marchi, *Storia ecc. dell' obbligazione Romana*, 1912 (rev. Duquesne, *N. R. H.* 1913, 125); and *B. I. D. R.* 29, 5; Steiner, *Datio in solutum*, 1914 (rev. Koschaker, *Z. S. S.* 1916, 348).

[2] Marchi, *l. c.*; Cornil, *l. c.*; observe the just criticisms of Duquesne, *N. R. H.* 1913, 131, and of Koschaker, *Z. S. S.* 1916, 351.

[3] See the new matter in the 6th (1918) edition of Girard's *Manuel*, 396, 1.

problem of early law is to turn the natural debts, which even primitive man is conscious of, into effective obligations. Hence its concentration on the means by which debtors are subjected to creditors, a subjection which is thought of literally in the etymological sense of such terms as *Nexum* and *Obligatio*. As Cuq[1] says, there were *obligati* long before there were *obligationes*. The earliest *obligati* were perhaps those who by delict had subjected themselves to vengeance, and the earliest contractual liability may have consisted in engagements to pay a composition in lieu of vengeance. But loans and other forms of giving credit must also be very old.

The important lesson from Comparative Law is that primitive man does not give credit without security, and that the earliest contracts are formal guarantees, by which the guarantors are brought under a liability, which at the same moment the principal debtor escapes, although the guarantors have a right of regress against him.[2] At this stage you may speak of the *Schuld* of the original debtor, and the *Haftung* of the guarantors, if those terms help you. The big step forward is when the debtor is allowed to give the formal guarantee himself, so that *Schuld* and *Haftung* coalesce into a proper obligation. Formal guarantee developing by way of self-guarantee into an ordinary contract is Mitteis' celebrated explanation of the original function of *Sponsio*,[3]

[1] *Manuel* (1917), 363.

[2] Koschaker, *l. c.* This may be due to their being his agnates or gentiles, and so governed by a paternal jurisdiction instead of by the semi-international law of the state. Tarde, *Les Transformations du droit*, 13. But speculations about Roman gentile organization fail for lack of evidence. More fruitful is Eisele's study, *Beiträge*, 25, of the *actio depensi*.

[3] *Festschr. f. Bekker*, 107; *Röm. Privatrecht*, 1, 266. Vigorous criticism by Duquesne, *N. R. H.* 1910, 521.

which has received less general acceptance than it deserves. The later usage of *Sponsor* for an accessory, and never for the principal, promissor is, of itself, all but convincing.

What I should like to suggest is that personal guarantee is far from covering the whole ground. *Plus est cautionis in re quam in persona.* The solution of many a vexed question of origins will probably be found in the deeply rooted practice of *pignus* (in the popular sense). *Arrha,* the Greek side of the question, has attracted more attention recently, but Champeaux has promised developments of his fascinating study of the Roman (*pignus*) side.[1]

I might add to these examples of the application of the Comparative method to primitive Roman Law by considering Warde Fowler's study of *Confarreatio,*[2] but I have said as much as time allows to indicate the great delicacy of the problem of reinterpreting the native Roman evidence in the light of parallel systems.

IV

I come to my second topic, the interpolation question, which arises as follows. The *Corpus Iuris* gives us an immense selection of texts which it ascribes to jurists and emperors of dates ranging over many centuries. When we have settled what the compilers said, we have the further question, What did the original say?—a question which is not raised on *a priori* grounds, but which is put directly by the introductory constitutions of the Digest and *Codex.* By their confession, what the texts

[1] Champeaux, *Mélanges Girard,* I, 183. His suggestion is that the recipient of the *pignus* was the guarantor.

[2] *Journal of Roman Studies,* 1916, 185.

now say and what they originally said may be quite different things.

Hence the interpolation question is an old one,[1] but the study is modern both quantitatively and in the instruments at its disposal. Even the most cautious allow that the changes made by the compilers are far more numerous and thoroughgoing than was suspected forty years ago; old tests have been greatly developed and new tests discovered.

Deferring criticism, and looking at the mere volume of individual suggestions, the results claimed appear enormous. I do not think that any one who has not a considerable acquaintance with recent monographs can have an idea of their extent. A complete list should be given by the promised Index of Interpolations, when it appears,[2] but an annual supplement will be necessary in order to keep pace with a movement which has captured the Italian school and to a less extent the German, and shows signs of affecting the French. Meanwhile a remorseless system of noting up is the only resource.

Naturally the suggested interpolations range through every degree of certainty, from certainly right to certainly wrong. The great ability with which the case for interpolation is constantly put forward must not blind us to the fact that the degree of certainty is nearly always exaggerated.

This is an uncomfortable state of affairs for the scholar, and it is worse for the teacher. The question

[1] For the older literature see Schulz, *Einführung*, 58, and Ebrard, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* 1919 (36), 1–27. I am greatly indebted to these two works, but regret that I have not been able to see Berger, *L'indirizzo odierno degli studi di diritto romano*, *Riv. crit. di scienze sociali*, 1915.

[2] See *Z. S. S.* 1909, v; 1910, v; 1911, vii; 1915, 430.

of an interpolation is often vital, but probably depends upon delicate scholarship. A certain reserve, a *disciplina arcani*, is necessary in most elementary teaching, but the modern teacher of Roman Law has to exercise it to an unexampled degree. Fortunately, *pace* Kniep,[1] we have still *Gaius noster*, and fortunately, by universal consent, we have still our Girard.[2]

Let us look at two preliminary questions: What is an interpolation? and how stands the burden of proof?

An interpolation in the *Corpus Iuris* is for me a Tribonianism, in this sense, that there is no reason to doubt that Justinian could have given no pure classical texts, had he chosen. Therefore, any proved alteration of the classical texts is rightly called a Tribonianism. The literature[3] which is growing up about pre-Justinian interpolations shows two distinct things. First, that we cannot accept without question such nominally classical works as we have outside the *Corpus Iuris*. Here one ought to bear in mind the difference between the tradition which brings us Gaius' Institutes and that which brings us the greater part of Ulpian's Rules and Paul's Sentences; also the peculiar character of such works as the *Fragmenta Vaticana*, the *Collatio*, and the

[1] *Supra*, p. 6, n. 4. Kniep, following Beseler, applies the interpolation method to Gaius' Institutes, which nothing external shows to be interpolated. The result is to obscure the really excellent textual and exegetic contributions of the author.

[2] *Manuel*, 6th edition, Paris, 1918, containing m portant additions, but excluding reference to literature published in enemy countries during the war.

[3] Citations up to 1916 Schulz, *Einführung*, notes to pp. 38 ff., the most notable being Peters, *Bericht d. Kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Leipz., phil.-hist. Kl.* 65, 1913; Mitteis, *Z. S. S.* 1913, 415; and Riccobono, *Z. S. S.* 1914, 293. Later Koschaker, *Z. S. S.* 1916, 325; Haymann, ibid. 1917, 209; 1919, 274; Kübler, ibid. 1918, 191, 2; Ebrard, ibid. 1917, 327; 1919, 120, 2; and *Zeitschr. f. vgl. R. W.* 36, 15.

Sinai *Scholia*. Secondly, what is almost a truism, once it is pointed out, that Tribonian probably made free use of a mass of existing post-classical comment in the shape of glosses, and of selections in the nature of post-classical chrestomathies. But it seems vain to attempt to establish concrete instances, as the failure of Peters' extraordinarily ingenious hypothesis of a pre-Justinian Digest shows. The question of pre-Justinian interpolations is deeply important for the legal history of the fourth and fifth centuries, but its solution appears to present insuperable difficulties.

And now, on whom is the burden of proof, on him who maintains that a text is classical, or on him who alleges an interpolation?[1] In *Const. Tanta*, s. 10, Tribonian describes the alterations made as '*multa et maxima*', and I do not see that the expression of Δέδωκεν "πολλὰ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριθμηθῆναι ῥᾴδια" is appreciably weaker.[2] One can only say that the peculiar method of the compilers, particularly its meticulous inscriptions, would have been senseless, unless the substance of the classical law was to be retained. Justinian saw that the greatest piece of practical thinking in the world was worth preserving, and subsequent history has proved him right. Nevertheless, the question is raised, and by Tribonian himself, for every word of the texts.

Interpolations may be sought under two aspects, either as corruptions of the classical law, or as the legislation of Justinian. It will be convenient to treat these two aspects separately, though naturally they assist each other, and are combined in the best modern work.

A. The predominant interest seems still to be the

[1] Mitteis, *Z. S. S.* 1912, 183–4.

[2] Ebrard, *Z. S. S.* 1919, 113, against Samter, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt.* 35, 74; 41, 139.

recovery of the pure classical law, and a very good account of the methods employed is given by Schulz's Introduction to the Digest. The tests of an interpolation may be divided into linguistic and material. Certain expressions, constructions, and tricks of style seem highly improbable, not to say impossible, in the mouth of a classical jurist, and *per contra* often actually characteristic of Justinian. A recent writer has instanced—*adimplere, dicere quod, ex quo apparet, in casu* or *hoc casu, hodie, nequaquam, quasi, quid enim si, quidem . . . vero, secundum hoc, sed et si.* I could easily lengthen the list by turning up, for instance, Beseler's *Beiträge*; the complete Indices of juristic Latin, especially the *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, which have appeared or are in course of appearing,[1] account for modern activities in this direction. A reinforcement of this test is that it very often coincides with a text which by its corruption betrays the botching of the compilers.[2] But, without the support of material tests, it must be admitted to be inconclusive,[3] for a very simple reason. There is absolutely nothing to show that Tribonian did not indulge in changes merely of phraseology. Any one who has submitted a draft to a committee will recognize that the *cacoethes* of purely verbal emendation is a common failing.

The material tests are well summed up by Schulz as a comparison of the doctrine attributed to a classical author with the rest of our tradition. The Digest itself is so big a work that it was difficult to carry an interpolation right through. Outside the Digest our tradition

[1] Full details: Schulz, *Einführung*, pp. 38-40.

[2] A highly characteristic example is Marchi's treatment of the familiar Paul *D.* 44, 7, 3 pr. in *B. I. D. R.* 1918, 24 ff.

[3] Besides requiring very cautious handling, as the list given above shows.

has been much weakened by the realization of the possibility of pre-Justinian interpolations, added to on the other hand by Riccobono's discovery of traces of pre-Justinian texts in the post-Justinian Byzantines.[1] At the centre of the modern reconstruction of classical law are Lenel's two great works, his *Palingenesia*[2] and his *Edictum Perpetuum*.[3] The former work, by piecing together the various passages from a given work scattered about the Digest and elsewhere, enables interpolations to be detected by their disturbance of the original argument and context. The latter has year by year widened our knowledge of the intensely technical formulary system, which was the very heart of the classical law, but had become obsolete, if not unintelligible, for the compilers.

Thus the first way of attacking the problem of Tribonianisms is from the side of classical law and speech. In an extreme form it may be said to rest on the assumption of a perfectly consistent and reasonable classical law, expressed in perfect Latin. The linguistic theory is that the classical jurists maintained the Republican tradition of sober speech long after general literature had degenerated into rhetoric. To give this test an absolute value, as is often done, is to assume that the jurists were able to maintain their splendid, but artificial, isolation in every line that they wrote, and that Tribonian did not indulge in purely verbal alterations. So with the material tests, a just reverence for the classical law may lead to an exaggeration of its consistency and rationalism. That is a fault into which an English lawyer has no excuse for falling. He has in

[1] *B. I. D. R.* 18, 197; *Mélanges Fitting*, 2, 465; Krüger, *Z. S. S.* 1915, 82; Pringsheim, ibid. 1914, 328.

[2] See now *Z. S. S.* 1918, 119. [3] See now *Z. S. S.* 1916, 104.

his Reports an equally impressive literature, resulting in a system which, for wealth of illustration and adaptation to common needs, is unsurpassed; but he is perfectly conscious of many an anomaly and inconsistency, criticizable from a rational and scientific point of view, but in practice at least tolerable.

I take as illustrations two interpolation theses recently maintained by men in the front rank of our studies and disputed by equal authority.

In the *Corpus Iuris* there are passages which declare emphatically that minors are not obliged to have curators; they must apply, or, at least, consent. But there is one passage attributed to Ulpian in which the consent or application of the minor is pointedly left out of account. The general view has been that this passage is interpolated, but only in the sense of a registration of an altered practice; magistrates in later practice insisted on minors having curators. But recently Partsch and Solazzi [1] have maintained that the whole nature of the *Cura Minorum* had changed, and that passages which expressly or by implication attribute powers of administration to the curator of a male minor are interpolated. The material argument appears to be that such powers would be inconsistent with the full capacity for legal acts admittedly enjoyed by the minor himself in classical times. On this Lenel makes the well-founded criticism, that whatever the theoretical inconsistency, no intolerable results would follow in practice, because the caution of the public, having regard to the *Lex Plaetoria* and the system of *Restitutio in integrum*, would oblige every well-to-do minor to apply for a curator, who once

[1] Partsch, *Studien zur Negotiorum Gestio*, i. 1913; Solazzi, *Minore età*, 1912. I take the account of their views from Lenel's criticism, *Z. S. S.* 1914, 129.

installed would have the last word. Of course, the alleged interpolations are supported on other grounds also, which Lenel examines, but one suspects that they will not stand once the material difficulty is removed. I ask whether Lenel's objections are not supported by our own parallel regulation of the capacity of Infants.

A second illustration.[1] The dubious nature of the distinction between *culpa lata* and *culpa levis*, understood in the sense of gross and slight negligence, and of the equation of *culpa lata* to *dolus*, led de Medio to reject as interpolated most of the passages referring to *culpa lata*, and Lenel has carried the process a step farther by purging the texts of *culpa levis*. In so doing he comes into conflict with Binding's doctrines of *culpa* and *dolus*, and Binding's reply seems to me particularly instructive. It comes to this: 'I was not strictly concerned with interpolations, as I was dealing primarily with the old *gemeines Recht*. And I admit your authority on interpolations, though I confess that the proceedings of the modern school do not impress me favourably. Still, on this particular question, you have put yourself out of court, by not attending to the fundamental point, which is the meaning of *culpa*. You have followed the bad old tradition of identifying *culpa* with negligence, and the result is a dogmatic difficulty from which you are driven to extricate yourself by a drastic interpolation theory.'

One sees that the substantial issue between these two great authorities is whether Roman Law is to be rid of the distinction between gross and slight negligence by purging the texts of the expressions *culpa lata* and *culpa levis*, or by a profounder interpretation of them. I make

[1] Lenel, *Z. S. S.* 1917, 263, citing the earlier literature; Binding, *Z. S. S.* 1918, 1.

no attempt to decide the question here for myself, but Binding's reply certainly provokes caution. One wonders what Historical Jurisprudence a thousand years hence will make of our own conceptions of Malice and Negligence.

B. The second method of attacking the interpolation question is to consider it in connexion with the legislation of Justinian.[1] That legislation was delayed; it represented the accumulation of the legislative motives of more than two centuries. And it was in part concealed by the peculiar method of legislation adopted by Justinian, namely the method of interpolation, which constitutes our problem.

The long period separating the dates when the classical texts, and many of the constitutions, were originally framed, from that at which they were incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris*, saw fundamental changes in religion, the centre of gravity and framework of the State, economic conditions, and whole mental outlook. But, instead of the alteration of practical needs being accompanied by progressive legislation and legal science, there came a dislocation between theory and practice, between the classical traditions obstinately adhered to by the Imperial Chancery, so far as it interfered at all, and current practice.[2] Of course there were from time to time important constitutions altering private law, particularly family law, and one can well imagine that the classical texts belonging to practitioners were heavily glossed and noted up to accord with current use. But the central power, unsupported by legal science and

[1] The point of view of Colfinet, *Le droit de Justinien*, i. 1912; Rev. Audibert, *N. R. H.* 1913, 475; Mitteis, *Z. S. S.* 1913, 465.

[2] Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, 1891; Riccobono, *Z. S. S.* 1914, 214. 294.

otherwise occupied, was unequal to the task of adapting the law, a task which one must admit was colossal. In default, custom had to do the work, so that we get the contrast between the official law and a debased or vulgar law, between *Reichsrecht* and *Volksrecht*, which Mitteis laid bare in perhaps the most fruitful work of our times.

The codification of Justinian, therefore, consists largely of legislation which was long overdue; it was an official recognition and registration, quite possibly in a conservative sense, of tendencies which had long been potent in practice. Their appreciation is one of the outstanding duties of our studies.[1] Undoubtedly predominant is the tough resistance of Greek and other native legal traditions to the still racy classical Roman law. For instance, the extension of the *civitas* not only threw open mancipation to former *peregrini*, it also closed to them, in strict theory, the secular chirograph. Another influence, generally underrated because so difficult to disentangle, is the transformation of ethical ideas by Christianity.[2] And from the technical point of view a peculiarly interesting factor is the influence of the early Byzantine scholasticism. The revival of jurisprudence in the second half of the fifth century at Berytus seems, in fact, to have supplied the intellectual preparation which enabled Justinian, barbarous as his methods may appear, to succeed where Theodosius failed a century earlier. His problem can only be compared in magnitude to that recently solved by the Papal codification of the Canon Law.[3]

[1] Binding, *Z. S. S.* 1918, 11.

[2] Troplong, *L'Influence du Christianisme*; Riccobono, *Riv. di Scienza*, 1909, and *Riv. di dir. civile*, 1911. Criticism and further literature: Baviera, *Mélanges Girard*, 1, 67 ff.; Krüger, *Quellen*[2] pp. x and 297, 8.

[3] *Codex Iuris Canonici*: Vatican, 1918. The library edition, with

If we consider Tribonianisms as concealed legislation, their discovery by our first method, of contrast with classical law, can be supplemented by the method of coincidence with the legislative motives affecting Justinian. Thus the longest and best established Tribonianisms are those which are consequential upon the overt legislation of Justinian and his predecessors. An obvious example is the abolition of *mancipatio*, which involved the mutilation of countless classical texts.[1] Here the greatest difficulty is the fact that the pre-Justinian constitutions, with which the juristic texts were now for the first time harmonized, themselves underwent interpolation.

But there are creative as well as consequential Tribonianisms; overt legislation by constitution by no means accounts for all the covert legislation by interpolation. The reconstruction of Justinian's motives is, as we have seen, a big affair; but important results have already been won.

Thus we have learnt that it is to the compilers, amongst whom the academic element was strong, that we owe such scholastic constructions as the fourfold classification of the sources of obligation, and the co-ordination as servitudes of rights so disparate as a life interest and a right of way.[2] Everything which adds to our knowledge of Byzantine scholasticism and of the details of the compilers' procedure becomes of the first importance.[3]

preface and notes by Cardinal Gasparri, is the only one of use for scientific purposes.

[1] Further examples, Krüger, *Quellen*[2], 373.

[2] Further examples in Ebrard's article cited p. 14, n. 1 *supra*.

[3] e. g. Peters, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 3 *supra*; Ebrard, *Z. S. S.* 1917, 327. 119, 113.

A similar consideration justifies the interest shown by modern Romanists in Greek, Hellenistic, and debased Graeco-Roman and Egyptian Law, an interest which has resulted in the virtual annexation of those branches of study. They form one of the main streams of legal tradition which unite in the *Corpus Iuris*, and offer a particularly favourable field of research, in which we are specially bound by the presence of Professors Grenfell and Hunt amongst us to play our part. A very large proportion of Justinian's novelties consists simply in a surrender to the Oriental traditions which, in spite of the absence of official recognition, had remained alive.

The results that can be obtained from this source are very big; a card-index of recent work in Roman Law will swell visibly at the letter P. I can only give one example, which I should have liked to have been Riccobono's study of the evolution of the written stipulation.[1] As that would demand too many details, I will take instead a startling but extremely plausible conjecture affecting a well-known rule in the law of sale.

According to the *Corpus Iuris*, the property in a thing sold did not pass to the buyer even by delivery, unless the price had been paid or credit had been definitely given. This rule is attributed by *Inst.* 2, 1, 41 to the Twelve Tables, but it has generally been supposed that the Twelve Tables rule was made for *mancipatio*, and was only extended to *traditio* by jurisprudence. It is, however, curious that there is no trace of it in *Gaius* 2, 19–20, and that payment of the price does not appear to have been a condition of bringing the *actio Publiciana*, nor of raising the *exceptio rei venditae et traditae*. Here, then, is ground for suspicion, and if Pringsheim's recent

[1] *Z. S. S.* 1914, 214.

work[1] has really established that such a rule accords with Greek legal traditions, and that there are traces of their persistence in the centuries before Justinian in spite of repression by the imperial judicature, his conjecture becomes highly probable that the rule was no part of classical Roman Law, and that the texts which affirm or imply it are interpolated.

This conjecture, if it survives criticism, offers a perfect example of the delayed and concealed legislation which we call Tribonianisms. The grounds consist in the first place of a coincidence between a rule purporting to be classical with one of the main factors in Justinian's legislation, and in the second place of a want of harmony between that rule and the classical law as presented by the Institutes of Gaius and by the modern reconstruction of the formulary system. And the result gained would be not merely the purification of classical Roman Law, but a contribution to our knowledge of Greek Law, and of the exceedingly interesting, but dark, period of legal history preceding Justinian.

[1] *Der Kauf mit fremdem Geld* (1916), especially pp. 50 ff. Short account, *Z. S. S.* 1914, 330; Rev. Mitteis, *Z. S. S.* 1916, 370.

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DIRECTOR OF TRAINING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

I WANT in this lecture to indicate, so far as is possible at this early stage, the meaning and intention of the changes recently effected in the organization of the Training Department of the University, and to make clear that they are the outcome of a new policy to meet a new situation.

The Act of 1918 makes a very heavy demand upon the resources of the country for the education and training of the thousands of new teachers it will require. The Universities alone can meet this need, and I shall try to sketch in outline the measures which will enable us in Oxford to do our part, and at the same time to show what is involved in any thorough system of training of University standard.

It is a truism to say that the Act of 1918 marks a revolution in the public education of this country. It marks the final disappearance of the ideas which have dominated public education for more than a century, and the triumph of the newer ideas which have been gaining strength during the last generation, especially since the Act of 1902. It means the transformation of the national schools from a Primary into a Secondary system ; and it means, however imperfectly, in one form or another Secondary education for all.

Let me remind you of the main provisions of the Act.

It insists upon attendance at an Elementary school to the age of 14 for all who have not already been transferred to another type of school, and it allows compulsion to the age of 15 at the discretion of the Local Education Authority. After the Elementary school it compels either full time attendance at a Secondary school to the age of 16 or part time attendance in a Continuation school to the age of 18.

The system of public education in the past has been mainly a Primary system because the mass of the pupils educated in the schools have been young children whose education ceased at latest at 14, often at 13, or even earlier. But in the future the great majority will be children above the Primary age whose education will not cease till they are on the verge of manhood or womanhood.

Within the compass of the word 'Secondary' there will of course be considerable variation in the character of the instruction given, and there will be many types of school. There will be the 'Senior' Elementary school, confining itself to the higher standards and taking children from 11 to 14; the 'Central' school, educating its pupils, like the Secondary school, up to 15 or 16, but with a distinctly technical bias, and linking itself with the Elementary school more definitely than does the Secondary school pure and simple. Then there will be the regular Secondary school, containing children of any age from 11 to 18 or 19; and finally there will be the Continuation school for those who choose the alternative of part time education from 14 to 18. With the other varieties of schools we are all familiar, and the training of teachers for them offers little difficulty; but Continuation schools will be a new type, and will call for a new type of teacher. Their pupils will be at the same time school children and independent wage earners; compared with the pupils of an ordinary Secondary school they will be almost men and women of the world. With such material ordinary school methods and teaching or teachers of the ordinary academic type will be wholly ineffective. The new problem will call not merely for well educated and well trained teachers, but for men and women of rare quality and character.

Of this, fortunately, the Board of Education is well aware, and it is looking to the Universities to produce what is required. You will pardon me if I dwell for a moment upon this subject, partly on account of its importance, partly because the Board of Education has issued a rather remarkable memorandum with regard to it. The memo-

randum, after explaining the aims of the schools and the qualities desired in the teachers, lays down that from the Universities two things are asked: first, the academic education, and secondly, the professional training which all teachers must possess. 'The academic teachers', they say, 'ought as a rule to be graduates.' 'The instruction, however modest in its standard, must be given out of an ample store of knowledge, while a well-devised course of professional training will give the technical equipment in the special problems of adolescence and of pedagogic method.' And they accept the principle that 'the professional training of teachers should itself be the function of the Universities, and part of their post graduation work.' 'But', they go on to say, 'in planning their training course the Universities must come out into the market-place and realize the essential need for introducing their teacher students into something of the industrial and commercial environment in which their lives will be spent.' 'The teachers of the people must know how the people do their work: they must know the habits of their homes, and what kind of recreation they prefer in their moments of leisure.'

The memorandum goes on to suggest University Settlements, boys' clubs, and juvenile employment committees as doors to this kind of knowledge. 'Some such experience as life in a Settlement furnishes, and, if possible, also some period of occupation under, or observation of, the actual conditions in a factory or office, should be an integral part of their training course, and should be looked upon as no less important than practice in class teaching, important as this is, or the more theoretical study of pedagogic science and method.' The Board is prepared to consider any scheme which the Universities may put forward for establishing such a course, and to provide suitable grants.

How great the demand will be for teachers in Continuation schools it is impossible at present to forecast, since it is impossible to say how many children will choose the alternative of part time education between 14 and 18. But

however that may be, such an appeal as is now being made to us cannot be ignored.

That the general principles laid down by the Board are just, cannot, I think, be denied. We shall all agree 'that the instruction, however modest in its standard, must be given out of an ample store of knowledge', and that the teachers will require something more than an academic and technical training. We shall also, I think, acknowledge the Board's wisdom when it confines itself to general principles and looks to the Universities to initiate and devise. The first condition of high efficiency in any educational scheme is, I am sure, that it shall be the creation of those who are to work it. The new Act will make calls upon us in many ways; but perhaps the most pressing need of all is to provide the teachers for this new and promising field of educational energy. We ought, I think, to address ourselves to the task without delay.

But the Continuation school is not the whole of the problem. There will, in the future, be many types of Secondary school, by whatever name they may be called, and for all of these teachers must be educated and trained.

It may be hoped that with the inauguration of the new régime, the old misleading parliamentary distinction between Elementary and Secondary may disappear, and that we may see a new grouping of schools on a genuinely educational basis, into Primary, educating to the age of 10 or 11, and Secondary, educating beyond that age. Incidentally it may be suggested that the Primary schools will probably be staffed almost exclusively by women.

It is clear that there will, in the immediate future, be a very largely increased demand for trained Secondary teachers, both men and women, while for men teachers in Primary schools the demand is likely to cease altogether.

The immediate problems are, how to get and how to train the teachers for the new work, and, what is the duty of the Universities in the matter.

The first part of the problem, how a sufficient number of qualified and able men and women are to be attracted to the work, does not concern us here; it depends upon conditions

over which we have no control. I will say but one thing in passing. Though salaries are important, it is by no mean a question of salaries alone. The necessary supply of teachers will never be obtained till those who control education realize how much more is involved if teaching is to be made a liberal profession which will attract on its merits a sufficient number of able men and women.

The other part of the problem, the education and professional training of the teachers, does very specially concern us. It is impossible that the new developments should produce the results desired unless the Universities set themselves to produce the teachers.

That the education of teachers is a task for which the Universities are peculiarly fitted few will contest. No other institutions could do the work so well, if they could do it at all. Nowhere could we find conditions so well suited to counteract by anticipation the narrowing influences of a teacher's life as in the Universities, where learning and research are pursued for their own sake ; where any tendency to narrow specialism is counteracted by the simultaneous study of every important branch ; where students congregate of every kind and class, destined for every variety of career ; and where this universality of type finds a parallel in a many-sided social life.

It may not be irrelevant to suggest that in making this task of educating teachers their own the Universities are merely returning to their original function of producing masters, men qualified to teach the arts they have studied.

The Universities are of course as much concerned with the academic as with the professional training of the teacher, and the calls upon them are likely to increase as the old type of special Training College tends to disappear. That it must disappear seems inevitable as the national system is gradually converted from an Elementary to a Secondary basis, and as the demand increases for a University degree as the lowest standard of qualification for the recognized teacher.

The Board, as I have already said, has adopted this view for teachers in Continuation schools ; and it is now part of the

educational policy of such bodies as, among others, the Trades Union Congress, the National Association of Federated Employers, the National Union of Teachers, and the Council of Principals of Training Colleges. It is surely a significant fact that the National Union of Teachers, a body the majority of whom are not graduates and who have perhaps been inclined to look with something like jealousy upon academic pretensions, should demand University training for all. And it is not less significant that the same policy should have been adopted by the authorities of the Elementary Training Colleges. These, while realizing that a universal four years course for all is at present impracticable, are demanding the immediate lengthening of the course from two years to three, in order to facilitate the taking of degrees and as a step to a universal four years' course. For children of Primary age, between 5 and 10 or 11, something like the present two years' course will no doubt be sufficient ; but for teachers of all older pupils we shall agree that a University course is the lowest standard that could be accepted.

But before this not very ambitious ideal can be realized there are many difficulties to be surmounted ; and some of these it rests with the Universities themselves to remove.

My special business is, of course, the professional, not the academic, side of a teacher's education ; but the academic side cannot be wholly passed over, because, though indirectly, it is inseparably connected with training. The majority of the students who look to any University for training will be its own graduates, and if we do not meet the academic needs of teachers, they will not come to us either for training or for degrees. The two things hang together.

The taking of degrees by teachers has been retarded in the past, because the Regulations for the ordinary degrees of most Universities ignore the special requirements of schools ; the degree courses are not suitable for many students who intend to become teachers. From the point of view of the schools—and it is of course solely from this point of view that I presume to criticize—the defect of Oxford is that its degrees are so highly specialized, while

only a small part of the teaching of even the most advanced Secondary schools calls for the services of teachers who are specialists in a single subject.

For perhaps three-fourths of the work of Secondary schools the most useful type of master is the man who can take all but the highest work in two or even three kindred subjects. Such combinations as, for instance, Modern History and Geography, or one of these with English or a foreign language; or English with one or even two foreign languages; or Mathematics with one or more branches of Science, are greatly in demand; and these combinations imply, I venture to think, a better type of teacher and a better educated man than the inferior specialist, who too often has merely added to his general ignorance a failure in his special subject.

A good supply of the more versatile type of teachers would have this great advantage among others, that it would tend to arrest the lamentable disappearance of the Form system from the Secondary schools. The development of specialism in the last thirty years has gradually brought about the organization of teaching in schools by subjects rather than by Forms, with the result that no teacher sees very much of any one pupil, and the valuable influence of the Form master in a boy's life is gradually being eliminated. The Board of Education in the document just quoted lays great stress upon this point. 'The usefulness of the general teachers', it says, 'will be greatly increased if they prove to be versatile.' 'If it (the time at disposal) is divided up among a number of teachers, there is the considerable danger that the personal relation between pupil and taught may too often fail to emerge. Yet this relation is after all the essence of the educational process.'

If the University is to meet the needs of the schools of the future it must make a serious attempt to meet this difficulty, to provide a course which will suit the man of serious intellectual interests and of real intellectual capacity, who has yet no strongly marked special bent.

The objection to a general course must always be the danger of superficiality, lest the student may never get

down in any subject to the foundations of learning. The danger might perhaps be avoided if the division were made, so to speak, vertical rather than horizontal; if, instead of going half way in two or three Honours subjects, the student were to go the whole way in a section of each. Even a small amount of original research in History or Natural Science is enough to show the student what learning means, the universal basis upon which knowledge rests; and the experience gained in one sphere is readily applied in others. The teacher trained on these lines will be no sciolist.

That the professional as well as the academic education of teachers should be carried on in the Universities seems equally clear. The same general considerations apply. It is essentially post graduation work. The theoretical side of it demands teaching of University standard. The only possible alternative is to assign training to Colleges devoted exclusively to the purpose. But such specialized institutions inevitably develop an atmosphere which influences both students and teachers in just the direction which it is most important to avoid. It is vital that, during the crucial years of their education and training, teachers should breathe the ampler aether of a great society.

That professional training is a necessary part of a teacher's equipment is a proposition which hardly requires argument in these days: not because all are convinced, but because the controversy has reached a stage when few of the unconvinced care openly to avow their unbelief. I do not propose to argue the question except by implication. The essential things in training correspond with and exhibit the main reasons why it is necessary.

Yet the whole question bristles with difficulties; and if these are not, indeed, insoluble, it cannot be said that their solution is yet assured. Perhaps the greatest of these difficulties is the general apathy which prevails, especially in the Secondary schools.

Few educational questions have had so disheartening a history as that of professional training in the last thirty or forty years.

Twenty years ago the subject seemed to have emerged from the stage of indifference or ridicule, and had reached the stage of dangerous and delusive unanimity. There was no body of Secondary teachers which was not ready to pass unanimous resolutions in favour of training: none which showed any desire to put its declared principles into practice. Then came the first Register; and it seemed likely that within a few years professional training would be added to the qualifications of the great majority of Secondary teachers. But with the withdrawal of the Register all interest in the subject seemed to disappear; the number of students in the training schools fell off, and even resolutions upon the subject became rare. We have now a new Register; but hitherto, partly, no doubt, owing to the abnormal circumstances, it has had little effect in giving impetus to the work of training.

We are involved in a vicious circle. English schoolmasters, like other Englishmen, are practical men; they demand results before they will believe. But it is difficult to show results while the demand is so small. No large numbers of students are likely to offer themselves for training while the schools do not demand trained teachers: nor without large numbers of students is it possible to provide schools of training adequately equipped and staffed.

Another very formidable obstacle is the difficulty of finding adequate opportunities for practical work in the schools. Teaching is primarily an art, only secondarily a science; and the mastery of an art can only be attained by practice. The training of a teacher centres round and is conditioned by the facilities which are at disposal for practice under skilled and critical supervision; and practice of this kind is impossible unless the schools of every type are freely open for the purpose. Not the least important part of training can be carried on only in the schools and by the schools themselves. It is impossible for any training school, however efficient, to produce of itself an accomplished teacher; that is a result which only time and experience can give. We shall have to ask of the schools something more than the

limited opportunities for practice and illustration during the year of training which are now, none too lavishly, afforded. These are in themselves insufficient, and the conditions too artificial to give the results desired. We shall have to ask the schools to take our recruits at the end of their training course, and to help us to see them through the period of probation or apprenticeship which is an essential part of every thorough system of training. No doubt this is asking a good deal: it means that in a large number of schools there must be members of the staff willing to act as deputy- or assistant-masters of training; to spend time upon supervising young teachers, to take responsibility jointly with the Training College for pronouncing finally upon their efficiency.

It would be easy to make suggestions and not impossible to devise a workable scheme. But my only object here is to emphasize the fact that there can be no efficient system of training unless the schools will come into partnership: unless they realize the part they must play in the creation and the working of a system which is essential to their own efficiency. They must themselves take an active part in the training of their own teachers.

In the Elementary schools this has always been recognized. They do actually play a considerable part in the training of their own recruits, whether as pupil teachers or as students in a Training College. The schools are at disposal for practice, and their staffs include large numbers of men and women able and willing to act as the coadjutors of the regular masters of training. It is essential that some such system should be established in the new Secondary schools, in fact in every type of school. Every efficient teacher owes a debt, not merely to his immediate pupils but to the system under which he works. Every teacher who is a master of his art should be encouraged, nay gently compelled, to take novices as his pupils. Few who have attempted the work have not felt its fascination; with careful organization it need not hamper, indeed it can hardly fail to increase the efficiency of, the ordinary routine. The natural outcome of such a system would be what I feel sure we should soon see,

a number of schools taking up the work with enthusiasm and devoting themselves wholly to it. It has always been a dream of mine to see one of the great public schools wholly devoted to training.

I mention these points merely to illustrate the fact that the work of training is in many ways subject to conditions over which we have no control. We need the co-operation of others, who for many reasons, some of them, it must be confessed, of no inconsiderable strength, show little eagerness to co-operate. We can only hope that, as the scheme adumbrated by the new bill takes shape, ample provision will be made to meet this need, that the training of the teacher of the future will be an integral part of the new scheme. Over the rest of the Secondary sphere, which is less amenable to influence, we can only hope to prevail by persistent suasion and appeal.

It remains to consider what we can do by ourselves with the resources under our own control.

In the Department for Secondary Training—and the conditions do not greatly differ on the Elementary side—we have our students for an academic year ; for nine months, that is, of which at least forty days must, it is found in practice, be spent by each individual student in teaching away from Oxford. During this part of his course the student's training is mainly in other hands than ours. Of the rest as much as three days in each week are spent in teaching or observing in such schools as are available in Oxford, and in other practical work. The remainder of the time is at disposal for lectures and essay writing, for less formal methods of instruction, and for reading for the final examination.

Upon what subjects are we to concentrate in the brief time at disposal for academic instruction ?

I base myself entirely upon practical needs. What are the things most useful for a teacher to know and to have studied before he enters upon the responsibilities of a teacher's life ?

First among these essentials I place Technique. The schoolmaster must be master of his trade ; he must know how to

teach. The art of teaching is not different from all the other arts. In teaching, as in the other arts, it is possible to advance only by reflecting upon experience; by analysing the work of the past, by discerning true principles and right applications. The discoveries and improvements of one generation must be passed on systematically to the next; it will not do to leave every man to make his own.

To most people this technical side of training presents itself as practically the whole, and is summed up in the word 'method'. Thus the old-fashioned name for a master of training is Master of Method.

What do we mean by method? Simply that in the past certain ways or methods of teaching have been found by experience to be good and others bad. The result of some has been knowledge, the capacity and the desire to attain it. The result of others has been the negation of these things.

Upon analysis it is found that good and successful methods correspond with certain general principles; that they are methods which induce the mind of the learner to work in ways natural to it, to travel along lines which he already actually, though unconsciously, follows in his daily life. These principles once ascertained it is easy to apply them in fresh directions, to develop new methods or new applications of the old; and these new applications, when sufficiently tested by practice, become part of the body of pedagogic knowledge which is the Science of Education

Much of the unpopularity of training and of the disbelief in its efficiency is connected, I believe, with this word 'method', and the wrong ideas which attach to it.

The study of method is supposed to make a man teach in a pedantic artificial manner, the outcome of theory and *a priori* reasoning rather than of experience and common sense; and it must be confessed that the danger is not altogether imaginary.

You may often find young teachers teaching badly, and conscious of it, yet persisting in doing ill. And the excuse is, 'Oh! but I was using the "inductive" method or the "comparative" or the "heuristic" method', or some other

of the methods upon which pedagogy delights to bestow names as outlandish as its own; 'and it is part of the method', they say, 'to teach in this way'.

This is, of course, the pedantry which besets all learning. It is the vice of a dull pedantic mind to be the slave, not the master of the knowledge it has acquired.

Sometimes, if rarely, it must again be confessed, the fault is the direct result of bad training. This sort of teaching was the besetting sin of the old Master of Method, though it was usually counteracted by great practical efficiency. But nearly always, I am sure, bad teaching of this kind is the fault not of the training master but of the pupil. Whatever training can accomplish it will not make men other than as their mothers bore them. The born pedant will no more than the leopard change his spots. I doubt whether training ever intensifies, and I am sure it often mitigates and minimizes this dismal human failing.

Good training in method tends to make a man master of all methods and servant of none. The great object of the study of method is, that the teacher may have all methods at his command, like a skilled workman who knows the use of all tools, who can select from his armoury those which he needs for the task of the moment, and who can at the same time invent and modify as unforeseen needs arise.

These remarks apply equally to general method (if it is permissible to speak of such a thing), to those broad lines of teaching which are found fruitful in every subject, and to the special methods of teaching particular subjects.

Incidentally I may venture to express the hope that amidst the wealth of teaching power which this University commands, we shall find many who will be willing to lend us their valuable aid in teaching the method of the special subject they profess.

The same general considerations suggest the study of the History of Education, which is closely connected with that of method. Most reformers in the past as in the present have been people who have discovered a new truth, or a new aspect of an old one, and have devised fresh methods to diffuse the

new light. To appreciate the merits and limitations of any method it is necessary to observe how it arose, out of what needs, under what circumstances and difficulties, and the relative success or failure with which it was attended. It is only in this way that educational experience can be properly sifted and appraised, and that a science of education can be formed. In this way we learn to understand the long line of reformers from Comenius and Mulcaster and Pestalozzi and Froebel to Arnold and Butler of Shrewsbury and Thring in the last century : and, later still, such a startling manifestation as the Gary system, or that latest application of an ancient truth, the method of Dr. Montessori.

There is a third element which cannot be excluded from these Elementary studies which lie at the root of a sound technique, and to which I am at a loss to give a name. I am reluctant to mention the word ' Psychology ' ; I know the controversies which raged round it in my own day : and I am told the hatchet is not yet buried. Whether what is taught under the name of Psychology to-day in Oxford and elsewhere is truth or falsehood ; whether there is or can be such a science ; whether, if there is such a science, Psychology is its proper name, are questions far beyond my ken. I must leave them to those who love to dispute ' what songs the Sirens sang, what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women '. I base myself upon practice and experience. I am sure that for any teacher the most difficult and at the same time the most essential thing is to know what is going on in the minds of his pupils, to understand the ways in which they actually work and in which alone it is possible for them to work. It is possible to teach cheerfully for many weeks with exuberant energy and enthusiasm and skill—of a kind—and yet to get in the end a result which in terms of mental growth or real knowledge is precisely nil. In spite of the progress which recent years have seen teaching is still one of the most backward of the arts. In every type of school there is still abundance of teaching which can be likened only to throwing various substances at a blank wall or tabula rasa, in the hope that some of it will stick ; teaching

which assumes that memory is the only faculty of mind. No teacher, any more than any other artificer, can practice his art unless he understands the material he works in; otherwise he is like a potter who should attempt to mould marble as if it were clay. In some form or other, under whatever name, teachers must study mind, and especially the nascent immature mind during the years of its development. That is really all we mean when we say we must have Psychology as a part of Training. The individual teacher can do much by patient observation and careful inference. Every lesson he gives, every hour he passes with his pupils, gives a revelation of the pupil's side of the matter, gives the teacher fresh data. Like a good general he is always on the alert to find out what is happening on the other side of the hill. What one individual can do can be done by many, and from the multitude of such data it is possible to build up something not unworthy of the name of a science whatever it may be called. At least the germ of such a science does exist, and if fresh results are rare and slow in coming, yet unquestionably new and valuable data are being accumulated, of which the fruit will appear in time.

In spite of the great difficulties inherent in experiments of which the mind is the *corpus vile*; in spite of the difficulty of obtaining precise and accurate results; in spite of the apparent triviality of some of the results obtained, experimental psychology does give us real insight into the minds of our pupils. Like all research, this sort of work often seems very much in the air: a thousand experiments must be performed before the one is lighted upon which gives illuminating results, and, as is well known, the most valuable results are often those which are come upon by accident.

The aim of such a course as has so far been sketched is effective class teaching. But class teaching is by no means the whole duty of the schoolmaster. There is, for instance, the large question of his ethical influence, which I can only mention in passing. It is the pride of English schools that their aim is character and not merely intelligence; and if

by 'character' they mean the development of the whole capacity of their pupils, including the intelligence, the aim is justified. Consciously or unconsciously every teacher in his class room is exerting an influence not merely upon the intelligence but upon the whole character of his pupils. Even in the great Public boarding schools, where the Tutor or House master plays so large a part, the Form master is often the strongest influence in a boy's life, in spite of the fact that no boy is with him for long, and that his influence is therefore not continuous. In that very interesting feature of Eton life, the 'Tutor' and the 'Pupil Room', we have this disability removed; and the boy's intellectual life, like his general welfare, is in the hands of the same man throughout his career. Most Etonians would, I think, say that the Tutor has been at least as great an influence in their lives as the House master. In view of this general influence which he cannot help exerting, the teacher must aim at something more than the mere technique of teaching; he must be master of many other things.

Again, schoolmasters need to be taught to think about ends as well as means; to think logically about education in its widest scope and aim; to ask themselves what education means, what is the relation of the education of the schools to the other great educative forces: how its aims are modified by the constant changes in social values and ideals, how the work of the individual teacher is affected by the great organizations of which in these days he almost invariably finds himself a part.

Much educational waste is due to unskilful and uninstructed work; much more to the lavish expenditure of power upon objects that are wrongly conceived. As a Public School master once said, 'My colleagues are much more ready to spend ten hours a day in teaching, in setting and correcting exercises, than to spend ten minutes in asking themselves whether they are teaching the right things in the right way.' The whole question of curriculum, for instance, is a question of ends, and depends ultimately upon the aim we have in view, ethical as well as intellectual; and the

same is largely true of method. Too often to the schoolmaster, education means little but the routine of the school in which he happens to be working.

The man in the street is often wiser than the expert. His crude, unabashed, importunate questionings are often the very touchstone of criticism. 'What is the use of it?' he persistently cries; and he is perfectly right. It is the most pertinent of all questions. Our education is all wrong if it cannot be justified in the eyes of the ordinary intelligent unbiassed layman. We ought to know what we mean when we say we are educating; what it all comes to, what we are aiming at and why.

Perhaps for Englishmen to be compelled to think seriously and logically about these greater matters is more important even than instruction in technique. After all, an Englishman rarely fails completely in practice; he is saved by his capacity for muddling through—one of the greatest gifts Nature ever bestows on man or race. Moreover, when ends are clearly grasped the question of means is already half solved.

Precisely in what form this wider, more philosophical instruction should be conveyed, is a more difficult question. It might be approached historically, in the form of a critical review of the ends of education, as defined by eminent thinkers past and present: or speculatively, as an inquiry into the essential nature of education. Either method would lead naturally to a comparison of the divine Ἰδέα with some of its principal embodiments in the past, and with existing systems: and on this basis a sound criticism and a reasoned policy might gradually be built up.

In all these matters we are of course liable to be led on to highly controversial ground. Speculation and retrospect have little value unless the outcome is progress and reform: and educational progress is indissolubly bound up with many social and political questions.

From such controversy the teacher *qua* teacher must rigidly abstain. His office transcends the region of opinion. His function is to clarify ideas, to define issues, to give the

materials for judgements and the capacity to form wise ones rather than judgements themselves; to prevent, not so much wrong as irrelevant judgements, wide of the issue.

The whole object of this part of our teaching would be to enable the teacher of the future to discern the true issue for education amidst the confused jumble of discordant cries which so often masquerade under the name. In this way we may hope gradually to create a body of experts worthy of the name, to whom the nation may look with confidence for information and advice.

The case for this branch of the training course receives, I think, strong confirmation if we reflect upon the educational situation of to-day.

Since the Act of 1902 there has been an enormous expansion of education on the administrative side, on the side of organization. There is now an education office in every County and large Borough. Every local office has its Director of Education, its hierarchy of committees and sub-committees, its little army of officials: and many of them have their own Inspectors. Education has become a practical question in the local politics of every area, and every Councillor an educational authority. Several large Authorities have their own Training Colleges, created, managed, and controlled by themselves, completely isolated and cut off from all other educational life. All this manifold activity on the administrative side is now about to be enormously increased by the requirements of the Act of 1918. There will be hundreds of new schools, new education officers, new committees, new inspectors. The activity of every Local Education Authority will be more than doubled, and there will be a corresponding expansion at head-quarters as well. All this is, of course, necessary. No one who realizes what national education stands for can do otherwise than rejoice. For good education good administration is as necessary as good teaching, and to dismiss all that side of the work as red tape would, of course, be absurd. The country owes an enormous debt for their splendid work to a multitude of men and women on the administrative side, to Inspectors and

Directors, to the army of devoted enthusiasts who give their abilities so lavishly to the harmless necessary work of Committees and Boards. Nor again is it for a moment to be suggested that these able men and women have any other object in view but educational efficiency. These things are not denied.

On the contrary it is this very efficiency, the enthusiasm displayed in this administrative side of the work which constitutes its danger. The sinister aspect of the matter is that in all this manifold and expansive activity the teacher has played so small a part. There has been no corresponding expansion on the professional, the teaching side, to counterbalance this overwhelming administrative development. It seems to be assumed that all that is necessary is to create a machine and education will follow. Yet without the teacher the most elaborate organization can accomplish nothing: it exists only to bring him into contact with his pupils under the most favourable conditions. What these conditions are and how they may best be realized are surely questions on which his judgement might be of some value; yet he has rarely been consulted, he has had little part in building up the system of which he is to be the heart and core. He is regarded merely as the hand which operates the finished machine. This ignoring of the teacher is deplorable for many reasons. It is an injustice to the men and women of a very able profession. Nor is it likely to have a good effect upon the supply of teachers or to raise the status of the profession, as we all desire to see it raised. But there is a stronger reason than any of these. To relieve the teacher of all responsibility except for the routine of his work is to remove at once the strongest stimulus to efficiency and its strongest guarantee. In the past it is no exaggeration to say that the teacher has in this country been himself the creator of the system he has worked. From the Elementary school, on the one hand, and from the times of Bell and Lancaster, who created popular education out of nothing simply by improvising teachers and setting them to work, to the great Public Schools and to the times of Arnold, Butler of Shrewsbury,

and Thring, who may be said to have created the modern Public school, English education has been a spontaneous growth, the outcome of the energy and enthusiasm of teachers. The State has stepped in merely to regulate, or to develop and complete, work already begun. But until the present generation it has not attempted to create. In the past a teacher has felt a responsibility, absolute and complete, for the success or failure of the institution and system under which he worked, and in which he implicitly believed. This consciousness, as a stimulus to fine and devoted work, nothing can, I am sure, replace. To relieve the teacher of it is to aim a deadly blow at efficiency.

This is the great defect of the system which has been growing up since 1902. The teacher is in danger of sinking more and more into the position of a subordinate official, hired to carry out regulations. Real responsibility is felt to rest with the administrative authorities : with the Education Committee and its officials, with the Board of Education and its Inspectors.

To the teacher a kind of responsibility does, indeed, remain ; but it is a responsibility of the wrong kind, the feeling of having to please a master, to comply with an endless system of meticulous regulations, a responsibility which paralyses rather than inspires.

It is true that a teacher may and often does, by permission though not by right, enjoy a considerable measure of freedom, and that through advisory committees or through representatives upon the Education Authorities teachers do often exercise an appreciable influence. But this is not enough. The burden of the complaint against the administrative powers is, not that they do not sometimes permit, but that they do not encourage—nay, compel the sort of freedom which is the correlative of real responsibility. The only effectual remedy is a complete change of attitude on the part of the administrative authorities towards the Schoolmaster. They must take him frankly into partnership: must learn to look to him, as to an expert, for initiative, for the thinking out as well as for the execution of plans.

Means must be found of associating the teacher with the constructive side of administrative work at every stage in such a way as to make him feel that he is working for ends which are his own, which are the product of his own thought, the outcome of his own convictions.

The temptation is strong to linger over this great and vital question : but I am concerned with it only as it affects Training : and the connexion is clear. The professional education of the teacher must include the acquisition of the knowledge and the capacity necessary for dealing with great fundamental questions of ends as well as means. A high standard of public education cannot be attained by perfecting administrative machinery, but only by perfecting the efficiency of the teacher.

And the teacher must prepare himself for this work as for the first of his duties. For many years I have felt with increasing conviction that this is the most important aspect of Training. It must aim at producing something more than efficient class teachers ; it must send out men and women who will be real experts. And the greater aim will usually include the less : the more clearly a man grasps the ends of education the less tolerant is he likely to be of inefficiency, whether in himself or in others, in the arts by which alone these ends can be secured.

The teacher has a right in any case to be heard : if the views he expresses are those of an instructed and enlightened expert, he has the right to expect that they will not, except for the gravest reasons, be ignored.

It ought, I am convinced, to be an integral part of the curriculum of every school of professional training, certainly of every school for which a University makes itself responsible, to give this wider instruction. Unless every teacher possesses at least some knowledge of these things and the habit of thinking logically about them, and unless he has the right to utter and press his views, education in this country must inevitably become little more than a highly organized department of public business.

In conclusion, I should perhaps say a few words about our

programme, about the way in which we propose to apply the principles laid down.

You will not expect me in the first few days of office to be ready with a detailed scheme ; nor, if I were, would it be proper for me to lay it before you now. But I may, I think, without indiscretion indicate the main lines of the new organization, dictated as I believe they must be by the situation with which we have to deal.

We have already in this University two organizations for dealing with the training of teachers. Both are recognized and both receive grants from the Board of Education, the one as a College for the training of Secondary, the other of Elementary teachers. But, as I have already suggested, the word Elementary is misleading, and no longer corresponds with the facts. In the so-called Elementary schools much Secondary education is given. The men trained in our Elementary Department are at liberty to teach in either Elementary or Secondary schools as they please, and have actually in the past left the University more often to teach in the latter than the former. In future, whether the word Elementary is retained or not, the public educational system of the country, the care of which must always be the main preoccupation of the Education Department, will be mainly a Secondary, not a Primary system. We have, then, in our Elementary or Four Year course an organization capable of doing, and which has actually done in the past, work which does not differ essentially from that which is called for by the new situation : and this in spite of being hampered to some extent by being obliged to conform to the regulations laid down for the training of teachers in Elementary schools. We know that the Board is favourably inclined, and no difficulty is anticipated in converting this part of our organization into a school of training expressly designed and thoroughly adapted to the new work.

If the Four Year course will require alteration, it is mainly because it is still formally a course for teachers in the Elementary schools. The work of the Secondary side requires adaptation for a different reason. If this school of

training has done in the past, as I am sure it has, work of unique importance and value, it has been partly because for Secondary teachers, training has hitherto been a voluntary thing: and, amidst the general most unfortunate apathy, many of those who have come to the Oxford school have been men and women who have felt an exceptional interest in education as a subject of study, apart from any need of training for practical purposes. The school has therefore trained, besides many excellent teachers, a number of men and women who have come to it as a preparation for other branches of educational work, who have afterwards become inspectors or administrators, or Principals of Colleges and Schools abroad; many, too, who have become thinkers and pioneers in education, and who have devoted themselves to thinking out the problems upon the solution of which progress in education depends.

I need not dwell upon the importance of such work as this; of the increased need for it which the future must bring. And this is a need which, as it seems to me, the Oxford Secondary Department is, as at present constituted, singularly well fitted to supply. To the great majority of the students who we hope will come to us in large numbers for training as teachers, we shall try to give a simple practical course, with just so much of the Theory and History of Education as is necessary for the maximum of practical efficiency, and with so much of general enlightenment and illumination as can be insinuated into the interstices of their practical training. But we shall, I hope, also continue to train, as in the past, a select few who will ask for more than this, for that deeper study of fundamentals which none who aspire to lead in education can afford to be without. We must, I am sure, preserve, and I hope that with increased numbers and greater resources we shall be able to extend, this side, too, of the work. We want, for every reason, large numbers of students, but we want also the gifted few. The University cannot afford to turn from its doors any who come to it for guidance and light.

We have already in the examination for the Diploma an

examination well suited to the more advanced students. Whether it is retained precisely in its present form or not, circumstances would seem to point to a double examination in the future, corresponding with the familiar distinction between Pass and Honours and with the double task we have to fulfil.

There are many other points I should like to discuss, but it is impossible to go into greater detail now. The working out of a practicable scheme must obviously be the work of time and its final shape does not depend upon ourselves alone.

It is not, however, generally known how much we are in a position to do within the limits of our present organization.

The official title of one of our Colleges is 'The Oxford University Elementary Day Training College'. Nothing could be more misleading. I have already explained the inappropriateness of the word 'elementary'. The word 'day' is not less open to objection, since the majority of the students are resident members of the different Colleges of the University. It would be much more accurate to call it simply what it is, 'The Four Year course'. I may say in passing that the Delegacy has now decided to admit women to this course, and that it is still open to women students to enter their names for the session now beginning.

The conditions of the Four Year course are these. It consists of two parts; the first comprising the first three years, during which the student is required to devote himself like other students to the ordinary academic work for his degree; and the second consisting of the fourth year, which must be entirely devoted to training.

During the whole of this course, not merely during the fourth year of training but during the three years of academic work, every student may obtain from the Board a very substantial annual grant, including the whole amount of his tuition fees and a generous contribution towards his maintenance. In return, students must pledge themselves to complete the course laid down; and, after completion, to teach, if a man, for seven out of the ten; if a woman, for

five out of the eight years immediately succeeding the completion of the course, in a school or other institution approved by the Board. If the pledge is not fulfilled the money must be repaid unless it is remitted at the discretion of the Board. The pledge is in practice interpreted by no means in the spirit of Shylock : any substantial reason brings total or partial remission, and repayment is by convenient instalments. The term ' approved school ' is interpreted in the same liberal spirit. It covers teaching even in some types of colleges and means little more than that the student must show that he has done useful work worthy of his qualifications, and of the public money which has been expended upon him. I cannot help thinking that if these generous terms were more widely known, a very much larger number of students would avail themselves of them. There must be a large number of students, men and women, who look forward to a teaching career, and there seems no reason why the majority of these should hesitate to give a pledge which coincides with their actual intentions.

A student need not begin the course in his first year ; he may join it at the beginning of any year, second, third, or fourth.

May I conclude with a brief appeal for the sympathy and assistance of all in the University who have the interests of education at heart ? The Bill of last year is a very big measure indeed : when we reflect upon what it means for England and what England means for the World it may be doubted whether any of the amazing upheavals of which the last few years have been so prolific will in its ultimate and permanent effects prove a bigger event.

The country has done its part in providing the money, the organization, the statutory powers. It now looks to the Universities to do the rest. Perhaps it is not mere fancy to believe that to Oxford there is a special appeal. Only those, perhaps, who have lived all their lives away from Oxford can fully realize how magical is the name she bears. Men look to her, in spite of occasional disappointments, as they rarely look elsewhere for guidance, inspiration, leadership. The Uni-

versity has a hundred channels through which it will respond to the call. If I venture to plead for the particular Department for which I am responsible, it is because it is the channel through which will naturally be made the chief contribution of the University towards making effective the great measure of 1918.

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The Place of Rural Economy in a University Curriculum

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE
DELIVERED AT THE SCHOOLS ON
FEBRUARY 1, 1907

BY

WILLIAM SOMERVILLE

SIBTHORPIAN PROFESSOR OF RURAL ECONOMY

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THE PLACE OF RURAL ECONOMY IN A UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM

It is a time-honoured custom in this, as in other Universities, for the new occupant of a Chair to be privileged to address those interested in his department on some phase of the subject that has been entrusted to his direction. Naturally he regards the occasion as furnishing a favourable opportunity for reviewing the past, discussing the present, or forecasting the future; and, guided by the particular circumstances of the case, he attempts to interest his audience in the life and work of the founder, in the historical developments of his subject, or in his own aspirations as to the growth and progress of his department. My own inclinations lead me towards an attempt to outline possible developments in Rural Economy as a subject of instruction and research within this University; but before doing so it may be well to look backwards and see what has already been done, and outwards, and see what others are doing.

The post which I have the honour to occupy was founded and endowed by Professor Sibthorp in the year 1796. Four years previously a similar post had been created in the University of Edinburgh, and these two Chairs served the wants of the country till 1842, when the Royal Agricultural College was founded at Cirencester. The closing decade of the eighteenth

century seems to have been a period of active agricultural awakening in more senses than one. Not only did it witness the establishment of the only two University Professorships in Rural Economy that existed prior to 1890, but it was at that time also, namely in 1793, that the Smithfield Club and the Board of Agriculture were established. The former still exists in unimpaired vigour; but the old Board of Agriculture, proving unable to resist the necessity for retrenchment consequent on the Napoleonic wars, was suspended in 1821, to be revived on an enlarged basis in 1889. It is rather unexpected to find that in the year 1800 the then President of the Board of Agriculture appears to have been unaware of the existence of the Sibthorpian Benefaction; for we find him deploring the want of Professors of Agriculture in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and thus expressing himself:—'Of those educated at each, one-third possibly will have no other employment than to take care of their own estates, and from the want of which early knowledge they are driven to depend on those whose interest it too often is to mislead them. Another third part of our young men educated at universities are allotted to professions in which a knowledge of husbandry would be of infinite utility.' He quotes Columella to show that even in Roman times 'every art was taught methodically, whilst that of Agriculture was neglected. And so to this day,' he goes on to say, 'the same complaint may, with equal truth, be made. Husbandry should form a more leading part of our education at public schools.' He was also a strong advocate of a Government experimental farm with an annual subsidy of £500. 'The establishment of this farm is,' he says, 'an essential link in the chain of the future opera-

tions of the Board. . . . I pledge myself that if I may, as an individual, be allowed the honour of interfering in the management of such a farm, it shall, under the blessing of Providence, pay its rent.'

As the end of the eighteenth century witnessed the formal initiation of education in Agriculture, so it was also the period that gave birth to the genuinely scientific literature of the subject. It is true that long before that time Fitzherbert, Tusser, Markham, Blith, Weston, Hartlib, Tull, and others, had described the agricultural conditions of various districts in this and other countries, or had recorded their views on tillages, crops, and stock. But it was reserved for Lord Dundonald to give shape to the idea that was gradually forming in the minds of the philosophers of that period, and to emphasize, once for all, the dependence of agriculture on chemistry. This he did in two works, the one *A Treatise, showing the intimate connexion between Agriculture and Chemistry*, published in 1795; and the other *The Principles of Chemistry applied to the Improvement of Agriculture*, which was issued four years later.

It was in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and the early years of the nineteenth, that two distinguished Englishmen were, each in his own way, doing much to improve the conditions of Agriculture. Arthur Young, the first Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, was mainly responsible for the preparation of the voluminous series of county reports to the Board, which did so much to render general information that had previously been purely local. Largely at Young's instigation the Board of Agriculture invited Sir Humphrey Davy to expound before them the scientific basis of the farmer's business, and this he continued to do

annually from 1802 to 1812, when he issued the substance of his lectures in the form of a textbook entitled *The Elements of Agricultural Chemistry*. I do not propose to enter on a discussion of Davy's historic work, which did so much to raise the business of agriculture from the slough of empiricism, and to set it on a rational foundation. But I cannot resist pointing out a circumstance that seems to have been strangely overlooked, namely, that Davy anticipated by half a century the experimental demonstration of the fact that leguminous plants are able to draw their nitrogen from the free supplies of that element in the atmosphere. In this connexion he says, 'Peas and beans . . . contain, as appears from analysis, a small quantity of a matter analogous to albumen; but it seems that the azote [the name at that time for nitrogen], which forms a constituent part of this matter, is derived from the atmosphere. The dry bean-leaf, when burned, yields a smell approaching to that of decomposed animal matter; and, in its decay in the soil, may furnish principles capable of becoming a part of the glutin of wheat.' Curiously enough two German investigators, Hellriegel and Wilfarth, are generally credited with this discovery; and yet it is evident that the genius of an Englishman had, sixty years earlier, left but little more to learn[1].

I have occupied a few minutes in reminding you of the position that Agricultural Education and Research occupied in the minds of thinking men about the time that Professor Sibthorp gave practical shape to the views that he held; and the conclusion we are forced to arrive at, it seems to me, is that the subject excited as much interest in the last decade of the eighteenth

[1] Somerville, 'Agricultural Progress in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journ. Bath and West Society*, 1902.

century as it did in the penultimate decade of the nineteenth. In the ninety years that intervene much less was accomplished for Agricultural Science than the activity of the closing ten years of the eighteenth century might have led one to expect. The chief landmarks of this period are the foundation of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1838, and of the Royal Agricultural College in 1842; the commencement of the famous experiments by Lawes and Gilbert at Rothamsted about 1835, and the production by the former of Superphosphate of Lime on a commercial scale in 1843. It is true that each of these factors has had an enormous influence on agricultural production, and the work of Lawes and Gilbert may, in a sense, be called epoch-making; but until 1890 systematic agricultural education could be pursued at only a single University in the United Kingdom. This University was not Oxford but Edinburgh, for although Professorships of Rural Economy were established in these two places about the same time, that at Oxford does not appear to have exercised its functions till 1884, and then only in a very restricted sense. In that year it was detached from the Sherardian Professorship and given an independent though terminable existence, first under Sir Henry Gilbert, and subsequently under Professor Warington.

Almost at the end of the nineteenth century agricultural education in this country stood very nearly where it did a hundred years earlier, and the outlook was about as hopeless as could well be conceived. But seldom has more forcible illustration been given to the saying that the darkest hour is that before the dawn. In the years 1888, 1889, and 1890, three notable events occurred, each of which has had an important influence

on the question that we are considering. In the first of these years there was presented to Parliament the Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Agricultural and Dairy Schools, presided over by Sir Richard Paget. This Committee pointed out that whereas certain facilities for education in Rural Economy were available at one or two private institutions, where the fees were necessarily high, the requirements of practical farmers were essentially unprovided for. Recognizing the absence of a supply of qualified teachers, they recommended that the work of organizing agricultural education should be undertaken slowly, and suggested that a beginning might be made with five Dairy Schools in England and Wales, and a Normal Central Institution, where skilled teachers might be trained. As a result, £5,000 was placed at the disposal of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, of which £1,630 was expended in England and Wales in the year 1888–1889. The money was for the most part distributed over schemes of itinerant instruction, the only collegiate centre to receive a grant being the University College of North Wales.

The second event of importance was the creation in 1889 of the Board of Agriculture, and to it were transferred the functions previously exercised by the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, including the supervision of Higher Agricultural Education and Research. The Board at once proceeded to develop the policy of encouraging the formation of well-equipped Agricultural Departments in provincial colleges, with which adjoining local authorities could be associated, and to which they could look for the educational machinery necessary to meet their requirements. In pursuance of this policy, grants for schemes

of a restricted and purely local character were gradually abandoned, such work being left in the hands of the County Councils. In the first year the Board granted the sum of £2,160 to thirteen different bodies in England and Wales, and each year has seen some extension of the support, until now the annual sum so administered amounts to nearly £11,000.

The third event to which I wish for a moment to refer occurred in 1890, when the passing of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act placed at the disposal of County Councils an annual grant approaching a million sterling, all of which was available for the furtherance of technical instruction. The actual sum distributed by the Treasury in any one year depends on the aggregate consumption of whiskey; and as the tendency of recent years has been towards greater sobriety of living, the Exchequer grant has been gradually declining, though it still amounts to the respectable sum of, roughly, £700,000. Of the total amount about an eighth, or say £90,000, is annually spent on education in agriculture in all its branches; so that what with central and local contributions—and neglecting grants from the Board of Education—practically £100,000 a year is at present expended on higher agricultural education in England and Wales, of which nearly half is given to universities and colleges, and to schools of an agricultural character.

Those of us who were at work in the early years of the Technical Education movement have still a vivid recollection of the nervous energy with which Local Authorities applied themselves to the task that was suddenly and unexpectedly thrust upon them. In no case were they equipped with educational machinery; they had practically no precedents to guide them, and an

idea seemed to prevail that if the money was not spent its distribution would be discontinued. Moreover, the Treasury made a point of emphasizing the fact that local authorities must not count on a continuance of the grant. Then again, the Government auditors threatened to surcharge expenditure on experiments, as contrasted with demonstrations, and this set every one asking where the one ended and the other began. There was one way in which the terminological difficulty could be avoided, namely, by making an allocation of funds to a local institution, in which case the Government auditor did not consider that he need inquire into the details of the expenditure. After two or three years had passed without any of the dire results occurring that had been threatened, confidence became established, and the County Councils set themselves to elaborate permanent schemes.

While those who had to administer the Technical Education funds would be the first to admit that the early years of the movement witnessed not a few mistakes, it must, I think, be allowed that most of the County Councils have long since settled down to carry through schemes of sound educational utility. Of the sixty-one County Councils of England and Wales (excluding London), three do nothing whatsoever for agricultural education, fifteen depend entirely upon their county staffs, two have established independent Agricultural Schools, while forty-one are directly associated with Universities, or University Colleges, or with Agricultural Colleges equipped for giving instruction up to a University College standard, or nearly so. Of the Universities of England and Wales, full courses of instruction are provided by Durham, Leeds, Cambridge, London (through the

South-Eastern Agricultural College), and Wales; while these Universities, and three in Scotland, also grant degrees in Agricultural Science.

Those who have followed the developments in agricultural education of the past sixteen years cannot fail to have noticed the marked change that has come over public opinion during that period. In 1890 a small proportion of farmers were enthusiastic supporters of education and research, and did everything in their power to help forward the work. A considerable number, on the other hand, were definitely hostile, and were active in their advocacy of the diversion of Technical Education funds to the relief of the rates. But the great bulk of agriculturists adopted an attitude of passive indifference, or, at the best, exhibited a languid curiosity as to the manner of man that ventured to offer to instruct them in their business. It is now some years since I have heard of any active opposition on the part of farmers to the provision of technical education in their calling. No doubt one meets with men who are prepared to criticize their county scheme; but their objections, when closely examined, are usually found to rest essentially on the insufficiency of local funds to provide some particular form of education that would fit directly into their requirements. But of out-and-out denial of the benefits that Education and Science can confer on the business of Agriculture one hears nothing now. On the contrary, there is a large volume of testimony to the advantages that practical men have derived from the facilities for education and scientific inquiry that the Board of Agriculture and local authorities have placed within their reach. A very large number of farmers now look to the local colleges, to the experimental stations, and to the county

staffs, for guidance in the many difficulties that oppose them. They frequently purchase their manures and feeding-stuffs, regulate the feeding of their animals, and lay their plans to guard against or eradicate injurious insects, fungi, and weeds, on the advice of the local experts. Agricultural societies and associations have even been known to pass resolutions of thanks to County Councils for the educational help that has been given to them in their calling, and deputations of agriculturists have waited on the Government to urge them to extend their beneficent operations. Although it is the present generation of farmers who give voice to their appreciation of the advantages that they have derived from the recent educational movement, it is to the rising generation that we must look for solid results. Only in their case has the education been systematic and thorough, and for the most part they have not yet had the opportunity of fully putting into practice what they have learned. Sixteen years ago the number of students pursuing a systematic course of education in scientific agriculture at a collegiate centre in England and Wales could have been little more than 100; while local classes, such as are now a prominent feature of village life, were practically non-existent. In the Report of the Board of Agriculture on the Distribution of Grants for the financial year 1903–4, the number of students who were pursuing a systematic course at one or other of the institutions aided by the Board was put at rather more than 1,000; while the number of those who were reached by short village courses was computed at 22,000. For the year recently closed I estimate the number of internal agricultural students at a central institution at 1,500, and the number of those reached by peripatetic instruction at 32,500.

The increase in the two classes of pupil in the past two years is relatively the same, and amounts to practically 50 per cent. A difficulty in the earlier years was the attracting of students, but the main difficulty now is the finding of accommodation for them. As a consequence, most of the agricultural colleges have had to embark on large building schemes; the South-Eastern College at Wye, for instance—which is affiliated to the University of London—having had twice, within the past five years, to enlarge its premises, until now over 100 men are in residence, and the applications are more numerous than can be entertained. Perhaps the figures that refer to Cambridge may have a special interest for an Oxford audience. In the Michaelmas Term of 1899, when the Agricultural Department was placed on its present basis, the number of students was twenty-five, of whom two were graduates; in 1903 the number was thirty-three, three being graduates; while the present academic year opened with fifty men in the Agricultural Department, of whom fifteen had already taken a degree.

Having briefly reviewed the present position of Higher Agricultural Education throughout the country generally, we may now, perhaps not unprofitably, devote some time to inquiring as to our own attitude in regard to the subject.

If not quite so prompt in taking action in the educational revival of 1890 as one or two other Universities or University Colleges, Oxford cannot be accused of unnecessary delay, for we find that on April 27, 1891, the Hebdomadal Council appointed a Committee of eight (which it subsequently increased to nine) to 'consider in what way the University could assist in the establishment of agricultural education, with a special view to the needs of County Councils'.

Acting under the powers delegated by the Council the Committee at their first meeting on May 6 co-opted eight additional members, and at the same time elected as Chairman the President of St. John's College. So energetically did the Committee deal with the terms of their reference that their Report was presented to the Hebdomadal Council on June 18, having been signed by every member. The recommendations were to the effect that the existing scientific courses should be utilized as the stock on which special agricultural teaching could be engrafted, and that the latter should be provided by the Sibthorpian Professor aided by a technical assistant. The scheme was a very modest one, and was intended to undergo extension and development as students approached the final stage of their training. Regarded from this point of view it would have proved useful as a starting-point, but it may be remarked that the equipment suggested was much more restricted in character than was that of other Universities which were shaping agricultural departments about the same time. Whether the scheme failed to commend itself to the Council because it went too far, or because it did not go far enough, I am not able to say; for us it is sufficient to know that no action was taken upon the recommendations. This, it seems to me, is to be regretted for several reasons. In the first place Oxford has missed the opportunity of training men at a time when the country was specially in need of teachers; and, in the second, the ground has now to a certain extent been occupied, and, especially, public funds have been allocated to institutions that put themselves into line with public requirements, and now such funds appear to be permanently ear-marked or exhausted. There are, however, certain advantages in

a delayed start, and, in any case, the position is not the same to-day as it was in 1891, and must now be treated differently. Finding progress within the University to be difficult or impossible, the friends of Agriculture bethought themselves of associating the University with what was then known as the University Extension College of Reading, in a scheme for organizing instruction and examination in Agriculture. In 1894 Convocation authorized the formation of a Joint Committee comprising representatives appointed by the Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching beyond the University, and by the College at Reading. This Committee was, by subsequent Statutes, passed by Convocation in 1896 and 1904, enlarged to embrace nominees of the Royal Agricultural Society of England and of the Royal Horticultural Society, while its original powers to conduct examinations and grant diplomas in Agriculture were extended to diplomas and certificates in 'Horticulture and other subjects kindred thereto'.

In 1898 the subject was again before the University, when on May 17 a form of statute was promulgated in Congregation, which had for its object the establishment of an Honours School of Agricultural Science. The three avenues proposed to this School were (1) Honours in some other Final School, (2) Honours in the First Public Examination, (3) Passing in Chemistry, Animal Physiology, and Botany in the Preliminary Examinations in the Honours School of Natural Science.

This proposal was chiefly opposed on the grounds (1) that it was in response to a demand from without and not from within, (2) that the University did not provide all the teaching necessary for the School, (3) that certain members of the Board of Studies in charge of the Examinations need not be members of

the University, and (4) that the degree obtained by successful candidates was of the nature of a technical degree. On a vote being taken the preamble was rejected by the narrow majority of forty-seven votes to forty-five.

So far as I am aware this was the last formal attempt to secure for Agriculture a recognized place amongst the subjects of instruction and examination in this University. More recently another Department of Rural Economy, Forestry, has been engaging attention, and for the time being the Sibthorpian Professor has been charged with the duty of giving instruction in Forest Botany. This is, I understand, in fulfilment of a pledge given by the University to the Secretary of State for India, a pledge which the University has been materially assisted to redeem by the generous action of St. John's College. While the matter that is embraced by the term Forest Botany is recognized in most of the Universities and Colleges of Europe as sufficient to employ a man's energies, it would appear to be possible, with reasonable assistance, and with the friendly co-operation of the Sherardian Professor—which I feel sure would not be denied—for the Sibthorpian Professor to find time to direct a vital and active Department of Agriculture, and to take a considerable share in the teaching. Whether there is a desire on the part of the University to revive the question of the organization of agricultural teaching and examination within its walls, I have not attempted directly and specifically to ascertain. But the past history of the movement, and the large measure of support that it secured, would appear to justify the anticipation that interest in the subject could be again quickened into activity. It would appear, too, that

means might be found to remove the more serious objections of those who voted non-placet in 1898, and with some of these objections I personally have considerable sympathy.

Since 1891, when the teaching of Agriculture within the walls of this University was first seriously considered, we have seen created, in the University College of Reading, a Department of Agriculture that is full of vitality and vigour. To a certain extent the Department there occupies ground that would have been covered by this University had it taken action earlier. The Committee of the Hebdomadal Council contemplated in 1891 the supply of courses of instruction suitable to the requirements of the sons of farmers, most of whom, presumably, it was intended to attract from Oxfordshire and contiguous counties. The Department at Reading is now undertaking this work, and probably undertaking it with a larger measure of success than the University could have hoped to achieve. It goes without saying that if the University were now to offer a complete course of instruction in Agriculture, a certain proportion of the students would prove to be the sons of tenant farmers, but probably the actual number would be small. From the point of view of the University, short-course students do not fit quite comfortably into the academic machine; while, viewed from the standpoint of such students, the greater expense of residence here would act as a deterrent. To educate directly the future cultivators of our English acres is work of the highest importance, but, so far as the rank and file of such men are concerned, the task can be better performed at Reading than in Oxford. Again, if action within the University had followed on the Report of 1891 it is not unlikely, judging by experiences

elsewhere, that the University would have undertaken the performance of local work for adjacent County Councils. Such work consists of courses of lectures at convenient centres, and of demonstration areas or feeding experiments on selected farms. Work of this kind also is interesting and valuable, but it makes serious inroads on a man's time; and if the energies of a lecturer are divided between local classes and University instruction the latter will suffer relatively most. If, on the other hand, two staffs are maintained, one to deal with internal, and the other with external work, there does not appear to be any great advantage in associating county work with a University Department. Here also the College at Reading has fully met local requirements, and, whatever the future may hold, I do not think that the University need regret the performance of this work by another body.

Having detached these two classes of student, the remainder may also roughly be divided into two groups. One of these is constituted by men whose main business in life will be the management of landed estates. In most cases the land will be the property of the youth whose educational necessities we are considering, while in other cases the relationship will be that of principal and agent. The other group is formed by men who intend to make a profession of teaching, including those who are attracted to the subject as a field for research. The line between these two groups may not be quite sharply defined at all points, but clearly, we have, on the one hand, those who will be engaged in the practice of Agriculture, and on the other, those who intend to follow an academic or, it may be, an official career. There must be young men here who have, practically, no alternative but to assume the responsibilities of

estate management, and there may also be some who would eagerly apply their knowledge of the principles of science, or of economics, or of history, to teaching or research of an agricultural character, if only their attention were turned in that direction. Hitherto this University has, in effect, declared that a sufficient academic course of preparation for the position of a landowner has been provided along the conventional avenues to a degree. His future work may lead him to till his own fields, to feed his own flocks, to occupy a seat on the County Council, District Council, or Parish Council, or on one or more of the many Committees to which county business is delegated. He may have to make agreements, grant leases, or enter into contracts, and his agricultural operations may at any time bring him up against regulations and orders of Departments of Government. I am far from suggesting that he should be sent forth from the University fitted to dispense with advice legal or administrative, but it would seem reasonable that he should be sufficiently acquainted with the elements of law to appreciate the form and force of a legal instrument such as a farm lease; that he should have some knowledge of the law and customs that regulate the tenancy of farms, and that he should know how his actions as regards the sale of produce are limited by orders of the Boards of Agriculture and Local Government. He should also be acquainted with the principles of rotations, with the composition and uses of fertilizers and feeding-stuffs, and with the physiological basis of animal and plant nutrition. All this, and much more, he must get to know somehow, if he would rationally direct the management of his estate. What, of course, actually happens in the majority of cases is that the young land-

lord, actual or potential, acquires a fortuitous knowledge of the rudiments of his business, either from observation combined with costly mistakes, or from association with his father or friends. I will not deny that in a considerable number of instances the results are fairly satisfactory, but in any case the process is slow in its operation, and uncertain in its incidence. It goes without saying that class-room and laboratory instruction, however valuable as an enunciation of principles, can never displace experience gained by practice. The University is well fitted to provide the one, but it is powerless to supply the other. This point was clearly recognized and specifically emphasized by the Committee of 1891, whose report contains the following passage :—'It is obvious that the everyday manual operations of husbandry, the knowledge of which can only be acquired upon the land itself, are not subjects for University teaching. It is equally obvious that the qualifications on which the successful prosecution of agriculture as a branch of commerce mainly depends, namely practical experience, quickness of observation, knowledge of markets and prices, must be gained elsewhere than at an University.' Personally I very much question whether there is any compensating advantage in the farmer or owner of a considerable area of land being himself able to perform the ordinary manual processes of agriculture. He can certainly be much more usefully employed than in practising them. It is sometimes objected that a University such as this is no fit place in which to encourage the study of Agriculture, for the reason that this is a technical subject, and that technical study is or should be discouraged. The force of this contention seems to depend on the interpretation that is placed upon the term 'technical'. The academic

study of agriculture is not technical in the sense that it is intended to take the place of a training to be pursued in association with the practice of the subject. It cannot, of course, do so. Any one who essayed to farm land, or to manage landed property, on the strength of academic training alone would be likely soon to come to grief. Such a course has, not infrequently, been attempted, and the results have excited the derision of practical men. They have, in fact, supplied material that has brought something approaching contempt on so-called scientific farming, though such operations, being neither accurate nor logical, can lay no claim to be called scientific. It may, however, be granted that the study of the scientific principles of agriculture is technical education, but no more so than is the study of Law, Medicine, Music, or Mechanism. University study does not exempt a prospective solicitor from the necessity of serving as an articled clerk, nor does work in a University Laboratory of Applied Mechanics enable a young engineer to dispense with workshop training. But the Council of Legal Education, and the heads of engineering firms, recognize that a man who has gone through a course of academic training is in a superior position to utilize his subsequent opportunities, and they are prepared to excuse a large part of the period of apprenticeship. Similarly as regards Agriculture. The systematic study of the theory and scientific principles of farming and estate management illuminates subsequent practical processes, and shortens the period of practical training, and to that extent, but only to that extent, it may be called 'technical'.

Again, it is objected that the University study of Agricultural Science entails undesirably early specialization. Whatever force there may be in this objection it

does not seem to me that it can be consistently urged in the University of Oxford, where the regulations that govern the School of Natural Science encourage, and, in fact, demand early specialization of a very pronounced type. Assuming, for a moment, that the proposals brought before Congregation in 1898 were adopted, the Honours School in Agriculture would be supplied with candidates drawn chiefly from two sources. It would receive, in the first place—and perhaps chiefly—men who had passed, in the Honours School of Natural Science, a Preliminary Examination in Chemistry, Animal Physiology, and Botany. Now, at present, a man may take these three subjects in the Preliminary Examination, and, subsequently, he may spend all his time in specializing in Geology, or in Zoology. Whether the course of study in the hypothetical School of Agriculture would be an improvement on this, or the reverse, it is not necessary to inquire, but at least this may be said, that it would be different. A candidate would not be expected to abandon the systematic study of Chemistry; on the contrary, he would be bound to extend such study, which would then embrace the composition and properties of crop and animal products, and of the materials, artificial and natural, that are employed to nourish crops and farm animals. His acquaintance with Animal Physiology would receive economic application in the direction of problems connected with the nutrition and reproduction of domestic animals. He would be called upon to continue his study of Botany in its relation to metabolism in crop-plants, to the economic aspect of the symbiotic association of crops and micro-organisms, to fungal diseases of plants, to improvement of cultivated plants by hybridization, cross-fertilization, and selection, to the

identification, and assessment of worth, of seeds, and to the influence of man's intervention in the struggle for supremacy that is constantly proceeding in our pastures and meadows. To the subjects of his Preliminary Examination he would have to add the study of Zoology, to the extent, at least, of becoming acquainted with the commoner injurious insects, and with their enemies. Nor could he gain a clear insight into the properties and varying characteristics of soils without knowing something of the features and geographical distribution of geological formations, and of the physical and biological agencies that convert them into soil and plant-food. Not to labour the list I may finally mention that the Algebra, Trigonometry, and Geometry of his earlier years would be put to practical use in the computation of volumes and of land areas. Narrow specialization by an undergraduate may or may not be desirable, but in any case the study of Agricultural Science, as recommended for the ordinary student, would hardly appear to be embraced by the conventional meaning of the term. Specialization no doubt comes later, but certainly not within four years of matriculation.

Having said so much in support of the view that it is the duty of a University such as this to provide instruction that will form a suitable introduction to the life-work of a large proportion of its members, I may briefly refer to the importance of agricultural study to another class of student. Since the striking educational developments, to which I have referred, spread throughout the country, the demand for qualified instructors and investigators has been greatly in excess of the supply. In these days, when complaint is heard of fierce competition and over-crowded professions, it is surprising to find that in one calling

at least there is room enough and to spare. This, however, is the state of things that has existed, and exists in full force at the present minute, in the profession of agricultural teacher. In the early nineties, when the Board of Agriculture and Local Authorities were starting their schemes, any man who was reasonably qualified could practically secure a post where he pleased; and although, in the interval, the various Colleges and Agricultural Departments have been turning out many well-trained men, the extension of the educational movement has more than kept pace with the supply of teachers. Ireland, which some ten years ago took up with great energy the improvement of agriculture through the agency of education and organization, has had to draw its teachers almost exclusively from Great Britain. During the past ten years Egypt has frequently taken agricultural lecturers and investigators from this country. More recently the South African Colonies, British East Africa, and the British Territories in West Africa, also some of our West Indian Possessions, have been creating staffs for education, research, and administration; and although the United States has had to be drawn upon, to some extent, the great majority of the men have been taken from this country. During the past three or four years no country has given practical expression to a belief in the advantages of the application of science to agriculture in so marked a degree as British India. Besides the great central research station at Pusa, it has created an agricultural staff in every province, usually associating it with a Provincial College. The Central Station alone has made provision for a staff of nineteen specialists, while the requirements of the Provincial Departments extend to sixty-three. The con-

ditions of service in the Indian Agricultural Department are distinctly attractive, and the regulations have been framed to encourage applications from University graduates. Thus in Regulation 3 it is stated that 'preference is given to distinguished graduates of some University in the British Empire'. That the Government of India have given effect to these declarations is proved by the fact that of the thirty-four technical posts filled since the Department was created, twenty-five have gone to University Graduates, of whom the Agricultural Departments of Cambridge and Edinburgh have supplied sixteen. It need excite no surprise that, with no school of training, Oxford has not supplied a single candidate for these Imperial posts, nor, so far as I can learn, has she fared much better in regard to appointments in the other British possessions and Colonies that I have named. In Ireland and Scotland the result has been the same; only in England has she supplied three workers in Agricultural Science—Chemistry applied to Agriculture in each case—though it must be admitted that these are in the front rank.

The position of affairs, then, is that Oxford is standing aside, and is taking little part in the supply of workers in the field of Agricultural Science at home or abroad. I quite understand that the traditions of the place are on the side of idealism, while the study of Agricultural Science stands unblushingly self-declared as utilitarian. It may be that modern tendencies are wrong, and that Departments of Government and bodies of electors ought to place more confidence in Oxford traditions, and in the inherent worth of conventional study. But facts must be faced as we find them, and the plain fact is that Oxford men are not being sought after for the kind of post that we have been considering. Personally, I should

not advocate a violent breach with the past, and even if reform went no further than the provision of post-graduate instruction of an applied character, the necessities of the case would, to a certain extent, be met. It would, of course, satisfy the requirements of men who, having completed the stage of undergraduate without having discovered a career, might be glad to specialize for a year or more with a view to making a profession of Agricultural Science. There must also be a considerable body of men who would remain in residence after taking a degree, were facilities provided for the prosecution of Agricultural Research under competent direction. And, omitting the word 'degree', the same remark may be applied to women, several of whom have already made no inconsiderable contributions to Agricultural Research. But human nature being what it is, and most individuals having more or less definitely shaped their plans for life by the time they leave school, it is evident that to them the prospects of post-graduate study alone would not appeal with sufficient attractiveness. For them, therefore, an earlier opportunity for study not necessarily of, but in the direction of Agriculture would have to be supplied, such, in fact, as is provided for in the proposals laid before Congregation in 1898. Judging by the experience of other University Departments of Agriculture it might not unreasonably be anticipated that a School of Agriculture in Oxford would, to begin with, receive annually some ten or twelve entrants, and that, within a few years, it might contain a body of students numbering forty to fifty.

A section of undergraduates that must not be overlooked in discussing a scheme for Agricultural Education in Oxford is furnished by the Rhodes Scholars. These men are drawn from countries where, for the most part,

Agriculture is relatively of more importance than it is at home, and it is not improbable that they would appreciate the opportunity of taking up the study of Agricultural Science, and of becoming acquainted at first hand with English Agriculture, which, after all, has served as a model for the world during the past century or more.

In considering the question of providing ways and means for the education in Rural Economy of Oxford's alumni one fact must not be overlooked, namely, that there exists at Reading an affiliated College, with fully equipped Departments of Agriculture and Horticulture, which is thoroughly qualified to impart applied post-graduate instruction to any reasonable number of Oxford men. I believe I am right in saying that when the Department of Agriculture in that College was formed the hope was cherished that it would be utilized to a considerable extent by Oxford graduates desirous of prosecuting the study of Rural Economy. Had this result been realized, the case for developments within the University, such as I have ventured to suggest, could hardly, with any sense of self-respect, have been considered. But comparison of the names of holders of the Agricultural Diploma of the College with the roll of graduates of this University, has failed to reveal a single name common to the two lists; while personal inquiry has also failed to discover that any non-graduate of the University has ever taken a recognized course of study or prosecuted research in the Agricultural Department at Reading. Twelve years' trial, therefore, would appear to show that Oxford University life has been practically unaffected by agricultural developments at Reading, and the conclusion would also seem to be justified that no movement within the University is

likely to interfere in any way with the prosperity of that College.

We have considered several of the phases of the agricultural problem as it affects Oxford, but one—and, in some respects, the most important—has been left untouched. I refer, of course, to the question of finance. To set up effective teaching, and to provide facilities for research, would necessitate large initial and annual expenditure. This, however, can hardly be regarded as an appropriate occasion on which to discuss financial ways and means; but if Oxford can furnish proof that the altered conditions created by the generous action of St. John's College have induced her to revise her verdict of 1898, she need not despair of the State and her friends, private and corporate, rallying to her support.

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ENGINEERING SCIENCE

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE

ON THE

TRAINING FOR THE ENGINEERING PROFESSION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY, OCT. 16, 1908

BY

CHARLES FREWEN JENKIN

PROFESSOR OF ENGINEERING

OXFORD

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ENGINEERING SCIENCE

It is my high privilege and great happiness to be the first occupant of the new Chair which has been founded for the study and teaching of Engineering Science in this University.

The duties and responsibilities of the post are arduous, but I am encouraged by the bold faith that the work will be for the benefit of my profession, of the students, and of the University.

The success of the new school must depend greatly upon the interest and sympathy of the whole University; I have therefore, though with the greatest diffidence, ventured to take this opportunity, the first possible, of explaining our aims and objects—what Engineering Science really is—and how it will be taught here.

As the teaching at the University forms a part only of the whole education of an engineer, and must be made to harmonize with what has gone before and what follows, I have taken as my subject to-day the whole of the training for the engineering profession, but I shall speak very briefly of the earlier and later portions.

The Royal Charter granted by George IV to the Institution of Civil Engineers defines the profession of the Civil Engineer as the 'Art of directing the Great Sources of Power in Nature for the use and convenience of man', and it then proceeds to enumerate a list of objects to which this art may be applied. These objects are very various, and it is worth while to consider some of them

so that we may realize clearly what a wide and interesting field is open to the engineer.

He has to make roads for foot, horse, and motor passengers, across our smiling England or through the jungles of the tropics; railroads and bridges. He surveys the land and makes the maps.

He makes canals: for little Dutch market boats or for great ships across the desert, or over the tropical isthmus.

He has to build ships: the humble cargo tramp, and the great ocean liner, the battleship and the stern-wheeler for the Niger or the Yangtse. Docks and harbours for all these, and lighthouses to show

To each and all their equal lamp at peril of the sea.

He has to mine for gold and silver and precious stones, for coal and iron ore; to smelt and refine and cast the metals for our use.

He has to harness Wind, Water, Steam, Gas, and Electricity to give power, light, and heat.

He has to build great reservoirs and aqueducts to hold store of water in long drought to feed both crops and men. It is difficult to imagine more useful works than the great irrigation systems of India and Egypt. The Babylonian, Egyptian, Chinese, and Roman engineers have, from the earliest times, devoted themselves to such work, and we can now hardly equal their great achievements. It is a thing we may be proud of that it is Englishmen who are following in the steps of the old Egyptian and Babylonian engineers, and are now carrying on their work on the Nile, the Euphrates, and Tigris.

As the engineer brings the water, so he must carry it away. He must drain both cities and marshes. It is to the engineer equally with the doctor that we owe our greatly reduced death-rate; it is the sanitary engineer

who fights the cholera side by side with the medical officer. The ventilation, heating, and lighting and draining of our houses is the engineer's work. And he still makes guns and explosives to destroy all his other handiwork. These examples are a few only, but they are sufficient to show to how many tasks the engineer is called.

And where his work lies, there must the engineer go. He may have an office in London, a workshop in Manchester, or live under canvas in India. He may be surveying among the forests and mountains in Canada, or in the tropical jungles of Africa. He may be building a railway to Mecca, or laying a cable in the Pacific, or if his bent be for invention, he may spend his life in the laboratory, or perchance lose it flying in the air, or diving in a submarine.

Every day the field grows wider, and for the engineer there is no lack of romance or adventure. Here is what R. L. Stevenson says in his life of an engineer :—

'And there was another spring of delight, for he was now moving daily among those strange creations of man's brain, to some so abhorrent, to him of an interest so inexhaustible ; in which iron, water, and fire are made to serve as slaves, now with a tread more powerful than an elephant's, and now with a touch more precise and dainty than a pianist's. . . .

'The struggle of the engineer against brute forces and with inert allies was nobly poetic. Habit never dulled in him the sense of the greatness of the aims and obstacles of his profession. Habit only sharpened his inventor's gusto in contrivance, in triumphant artifice, in the Odyssean subtleties, by which wires are taught to speak, and iron hands to weave, and the slender ship to brave and to outstrip the tempest.

'To the ignorant the great results alone are admirable ; to the knowing rather the infinite device and sleight of mind that made them possible.'

Can any teaching fit a man for all these various duties ?

Is it possible by any college education to make a man an engineer? No, it is not. All that can be given in college is the scientific training. Science can be taught, but before his training is complete the engineer must learn a host of facts which he can only learn by experience. Experience cannot be taught.

Let us consider for a moment what has been done in the past. Not many years ago the only training available was the apprenticeship in a great mechanical workshop. The apprentice was not taught to observe or reason, he gained no grasp of mechanical principles. His stock of mathematics was scanty, and he never learnt how to apply them to material affairs. His knowledge of physics was nil. Nevertheless he learnt many invaluable lessons, lessons which he could have learnt nowhere else—but they were not the whole of engineering. It has long been recognized that the apprenticeship must be supplemented by scientific training. The University training of engineers, the type of training which we shall give here, had its foundation laid when Rankine was appointed to the Professorship of Civil Engineering and Mechanics in the University of Glasgow. There is still no better basis for college teaching than his series of books on engineering theory. He has been followed by a number of distinguished teachers; I will only mention my father, Fleeming Jenkin, the first professor of engineering in Edinburgh, Kennedy in London, and Ewing in Cambridge. The training given by these men has been theoretical; principles, not details of practice. Their teaching was intended to be followed by an apprenticeship. On these sound lines our leading English schools are now working.

But there is another type of engineering teaching which has sprung up in recent years, that given at our technical

colleges. For the origin of this school, I believe we must look abroad. I quote a few sentences from the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education issued in 1884:—

'The beginnings of the modern industrial system are due in the main to Great Britain.... Thus when, less than half a century ago, continental countries began to construct railways and to erect modern mills and mechanical workshops, they found themselves face to face with a full-grown industrial organization in this country which was almost a sealed book to those who could not obtain access to our factories.

'To meet this state of things foreign countries established technical schools like the École Centrale of Paris and the Polytechnic Schools of Germany and Switzerland.

'The buildings are palatial, the laboratories and museums are costly and extensive, and the staff of professors is so numerous as to admit of the utmost subdivision of the subjects taught.'

To this class belong the Polytechnic Schools of Zürich, Munich, Vienna, Stuttgart, Dresden, Hanover, Berlin, and many others. There is much that is admirable in the foreign technical schools, but when we read the opinions of men who have had experience of the system we find evidence that the highly finished product of the foreign technical school lacks something that is often present in his English competitor. The Report quoted already contains emphatic testimony on this point. Even those witnesses who were most alive to the inadequacy of our English apprenticeship as the sole means of training engineers give no encouragement to the idea that we should copy the foreign polytechnic. As one of the witnesses stated, 'Those schools are apt to teach the student details which he mistakes afterwards for principles. The teaching should deal very much with principles, and very little with details.'

The great extension of technical schools in England is, I believe, largely the result of copying the continental and American practice. The palatial buildings and costly equipment impress English visitors, and the public cry out for similar appliances here; but I believe it is a retrograde step. These schools abroad were built because they lacked what we had. Are we to throw away our apprenticeship system and follow them in a vicious circle? I speak of throwing away our apprenticeship system, because the modern technical colleges profess to turn out trained engineers. They believe that they can teach, in addition to the theory, the experience formerly gained in the apprenticeship. Can a doctor or surgeon practise on a lay figure and do without his hospital training? Can a sailor learn seamanship in a college tank? Or a barrister learn to plead in a model law court? The doctor can be taught Physiology, Anatomy, and all the wide range of science he now needs; the sailor can be taught Astronomy and Navigation; the barrister can be taught Law; but the rest they must learn during some form of apprenticeship, whether it be called 'walking the hospitals', 'serving his time', or 'devilling for a lawyer'.

This principle is of wide-reaching importance, and is too little recognized. The great painters served their time in their masters' studios; Leonardo was apprenticed to Verrocchio, Raphael to Perugino, Michael Angelo to the Ghirlandaii. The Greek sculptors were similarly trained. The ability and skill of our naval officers is our pride; they all serve their time as midshipmen. The lack of real warfare in which to apprentice our officers is the great difficulty in military training. But now is not the time to discuss these subjects; I use

them only as illustrations of the value of a real apprenticeship, and to show how impossible it must always be to substitute college teaching for the teaching of experience.

What we purpose to teach, then, in Oxford is the Science or Theory of Engineering, and to leave the experience, or rather the beginning of experience, to be learnt during a subsequent apprenticeship. There is often objection made to the teaching of theory only. It is said, 'We want practical men, not theoretical men.' Concerning this imaginary conflict between theory and practice, I will quote a short extract from a most admirable dissertation by Rankine :—

'The words *theory* and *practice* are of Greek origin : they carry our thoughts back to the time of those ancient philosophers by whom they were contrived ; and by whom also they were contrasted and placed in opposition, as denoting two conflicting and mutually inconsistent ideas.

'In geometry, in philosophy, in poetry, in rhetoric, and in the fine arts, the Greeks are our masters ; and great are our obligations to the ideas and the models which they have transmitted to our times. But in physics and in mechanics their notions were very generally pervaded by a great fallacy, which attained its complete and most mischievous development amongst the mediaeval schoolmen, and the remains of whose influence can be traced even at the present day—the fallacy of a *double system of natural laws* ; one theoretical, geometrical, rational, discoverable by contemplation, applicable to celestial, aethereal, indestructible bodies, and being an object of the noble and liberal arts ; the other practical, mechanical, empirical, discoverable by experience, applicable to terrestrial, gross, destructible bodies, and being an object of what were once called the vulgar and sordid arts.

'The so-called physical theories of most of those whose understandings were under the influence of that fallacy, being empty dreams, with but a trace of truth here and

there, and at variance with the results of everyday observation on the surface of the planet we inhabit, were calculated to perpetuate the fallacy. The stars were celestial, incorruptible bodies ; their orbits were circular and their motions perpetual ; such orbits and motions being characteristic of perfection. Objects on the earth's surface were terrestrial and corruptible ; their motions being characteristic of imperfection were in mixed straight and curved lines, and of limited duration. Rational and practical mechanics (as Newton observes in his preface to the *Principia*) were considered as in a measure opposed to each other, the latter being an inferior branch of study, to be cultivated only for the sake of gain or some other material advantage. Archytas of Tarentum might illustrate the truths of geometry by mechanical contrivances ; his methods were regarded by his pupil Plato as a lowering of the dignity of science. Archimedes, to the character of the first geometer and arithmetician of his day, might add that of the first mechanician and physicist,—he might, by his unaided strength acting through suitable machinery, move a loaded ship on dry land,—he might contrive and execute deadly engines of war, of which even the Roman soldiers stood in dread,—he might, with an art afterwards regarded as fabulous till it was revived by Buffon, burn fleets with the concentrated sunbeams ; but that mechanical knowledge, and that practical skill, which, in our eyes, render that great man so illustrious, were, by men of learning, his contemporaries and successors, regarded as accomplishments of an inferior order, to which the philosopher, from the height of geometrical abstraction, condescended, with a view to the service of the state. In those days the notion arose that scientific men were unfit for the business of life, and various facetious anecdotes were contrived illustrative of this notion, which have been handed down from age to age, and in each age applied, with little variation, to the eminent philosophers of the time.

'That the Romans were eminently skilful in many departments of practical mechanics, especially in masonry, road-making, and hydraulics, is clearly established by the existing remains of their magnificent works of engineering and architecture, from many of which we should do well to take a lesson. But the fallacy of a sup-

posed discordance between rational and practical, celestial and terrestrial mechanics, still continued in force, and seems to have gathered strength, and to have attained its full vigour during the middle ages. In those ages, indeed, were erected those incomparable ecclesiastical buildings, whose beauty, depending as it does mainly on the nice adjustment of the form, strength, and position of each part, to the forces which it has to sustain, evinces a profound study of the principles of equilibrium on the part of the architects. But the very names of those architects, with few and doubtful exceptions, were suffered to be forgotten; and the principles which guided their work remain unrecorded, and were left to be rediscovered in our own day; for the scholars of those times, despising practice and observation, were occupied in developing and magnifying the numerous errors, and in perverting and obscuring the much more numerous truths, which are to be found in the writings of Aristotle; and those few men who, like Roger Bacon, combined scientific with practical knowledge, were objects of fear and persecution as supposed allies of the powers of darkness.

'At length, during the great revival of learning and reformation of science in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the system falsely styled Aristotelian was overthrown: so also was the fallacy of a double system of natural laws; and the truth began to be duly appreciated, that sound theory in physical science consists simply of facts, and the deductions of common sense from them, reduced to a systematic form. The science of motion was founded by Galileo, and perfected by Newton. Then it was established that celestial and terrestrial mechanics are branches of one science; that they depend on one and the same system of clear and simple first principles; that those very laws which regulate the motion and stability of bodies on earth, govern also the revolutions of the stars, and extend their dominion throughout the immensity of space. Then it came to be acknowledged that no material object, however small—no force, however feeble,—no phenomenon, however familiar, is insignificant, or beneath the attention of the philosopher; that the processes of the workshop, the labours of the artisan, are full of instruction to the

man of science; that the scientific study of practical mechanics is well worthy of the attention of the most accomplished mathematician.'

Thus this contrast between theory and practice is, in part at least, a survival from a time when there was a real division between the two. But 'practice' is now used rather to mean 'the habit of doing', and when the theoretical and practical man are contrasted, it is really the man who has learnt from books, and the man who has learnt from doing, that are compared. An engineer should not be either of these alone, he should be both—a learned and experienced man; but it is only the learning which can be acquired at college.

In what, then, does the Theory or Science of Engineering consist? It is based mainly on Mathematics and Physics, and to a less extent on Chemistry, Geology, and Metallurgy. Engineering has been called 'Applied Physics'; in the same way Medicine might be called 'Applied Physiology'.

It is not necessary to describe the teaching of Mathematics, Physics, or Chemistry, but it will be well to consider how Engineering proper should be taught. The teaching should be partly bookwork, taught in lectures, and partly experimental measurement taught in the laboratory. The names of many of the subjects are already familiar in Oxford—Statics, Hydrostatics, Dynamics, Electricity, Magnetism, Thermodynamics, and so on, but the engineering treatment of these subjects differs considerably from the traditional treatment. Statics, for instance, is used by mathematicians as a peg on which to hang ingeniously contrived problems involving for their solution elegant mathematics, and the solution required is a general one. To the engineer the first part of a statical problem is ascertaining what the forces are

which he has to deal with, and the next is to find the simplest solution of the particular case before him. For example, he may require to find the stresses in a structure when a gale of wind is blowing. He has first to study all the available experimental data on the forces produced by wind—a most difficult subject—and from these, by the exercise of judgement, to form an estimate of the forces in his particular case, and then calculate the stresses in the different members of the structure. For this purpose he will probably use graphic methods as being the quickest, when a general solution is not required. With statics should be taught the theory of the Elasticity and Strength of Materials. This may be illustrated in the laboratory by means of accurate testing plant designed to measure the strength and indicate the behaviour of all sorts of materials under all sorts of stresses.

Similarly the engineering treatment of Dynamics differs considerably from the traditional one, but more mathematics is required for this subject. The aim of the teaching should be to make the student realize fully the motions and forces which he is discussing; for this end examples drawn from moving apparatus, which he can handle, are preferable to the classical examples of imaginary astronomical bodies. The subject may be fully illustrated in the laboratory by teaching the student to make accurate measurements of forces, velocities, and accelerations, using moving carriages and revolving wheels rather than pendulums. The experiments should be on a sufficient scale to make the student realize that he is dealing with ' real ' forces and weights, not chemists' balance weights, which are apt to blow away if he sneeze. Models may also be made to illustrate the theories being taught.

These methods serve two purposes—they give to most

men realler, more concrete conceptions, and a solider grasp of the subject than purely mathematical methods, and they teach at the same time how the theory may be applied to engineering problems.

The use of models should not be thought one whit less scientific than pure mathematics; but by a model I do not mean a toy railway train; I mean a concrete representation of some idea which in the model is shown forth by means of some convention. Here, for instance, is a model of the simplest conceivable condition of static equilibrium; in it the *sticks* represent force links in compression, and the *elastics* force links in tension; the two models represent the only two possible arrangements.

Here is what Lord Kelvin said of models :—

'It seems to me that the test of "Do we or do we not understand a particular subject in physics?" is "Can we make a mechanical model of it?" As long as I cannot make a mechanical model, all the way through, I cannot understand it.'

As Silvanus Thompson says :—

'The use of models has become characteristic of the tone and temper of British physicists. Where Poisson or Laplace saw a mathematical formula, Kelvin discovered a reality which could be roughly simulated in the concrete.'

Thus we see that in each subject there is a difference between the engineering and the scholastic point of view. This corresponds to the difference drawn by Rankine between what he calls *Theoretical Science* and *Practical Science*. The object of *Theoretical Science* is to answer the question, 'What are we to think?' But in *Practical Science* the question is 'What are we to do?' a question which involves the immediate adoption of some rule of working.

I have already referred more than once to the labora-

tory. A good engineering laboratory is now essential for the complete teaching of engineering science. The real object and proper use of the engineering laboratory were first understood and explained by Sir Alexander Kennedy, then a Professor at University College, London. He found the laboratory no more than a means of private research, and he turned it into a splendid instrument of education. Concerning its great value I need do no more than quote Prof. Ewing's vigorous statement :—

'It stimulates interest, fosters exactness, creates habits of observation and of independent thought, it makes the dry bones of science start into life. Facts and principles learnt from the text-book or the lecture-table are colourless and dull ; in the laboratory they become vivid and memorable. "We study nature in books," says a great teacher, "and when we meet her face to face she passes unrecognised." Study in books we must, but if our knowledge is to be real it must be of the kind that a face-to-face acquaintance brings. Put a good student into a laboratory and you inspire him with the enthusiasm of an investigator ; put a good teacher into a laboratory and you ensure that he will never cease to be a student. The laboratory teaches something that is learnt neither in the workshop nor in the lecture-room—something that connects the knowledge gained in both.'

A laboratory should not be a model workshop ; it should not aim at teaching manual arts, its object should be to teach the *Art of Measurement*, and in addition—to a few students—the methods of research.

On the value of research it is hardly necessary to speak nowadays, but I should like to remind you of Bacon's wise and charming statement which forecasts most closely the opinions we now hold, and sometimes think quite modern :—

'Therefore, no doubt, the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge ; wherein many things are reserved, which

kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow. Now we govern nature in opinions, but we are thrall unto her in necessity; but, if we would be led by her in invention, we should command her in action.'

The teacher is himself engaged in the research of some scientific truth, and he finds in the best of his students a willing band of workers; the young men are inspired by the teacher with his own ardour; they imitate his methods, sympathize with his aims, and emulate his success. In a few years these generous and unknown assistants will themselves be leaders. The process is natural, healthy, and successful, but it is incomplete. It reaches only those who are born with a great natural aptitude for scientific inquiry. The rank and file of the students cannot be employed in this manner by the teacher; they would waste their time, spoil an indefinite amount of apparatus, hinder the advanced student, occupy the attention of the teacher unworthily, and perhaps try his temper; and yet the rank and file—the ordinary well-meaning student who will never become a leading light in science—is worthy of our attention. We can teach him systematically the art of measurement. We cannot give him the hunger for knowledge, the acute logical discrimination, nor the imaginative faculty required for research; but we can teach him how to ascertain and record facts accurately; we can bring home to him the truth that no scientific knowledge is definite except that based on the numerical comparison which we call measurement. The distinct recognition of measurement as a thing to be taught should serve as a guide in the purchase of apparatus—it will serve to distinguish the toy from the scientific instrument.

Here is what Lord Kelvin said about measurement :—

'When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers, you know something about it ; when you cannot express it in numbers your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind ; it may be the beginning of knowledge, but you have scarcely in your thought advanced to the stage of *science*, whatever the matter may be.'

Drawing should also be taught, and a workshop in connexion with the measuring class is a legitimate and almost necessary complement. The work done in this workshop is not the same as that of any trading concern, although it bears some similarity to that of the practical optician. In such a workshop, the student may be usefully occupied in adjusting, repairing, and modifying the apparatus he requires.

Scientific research for the most advanced and best endowed students ; measurement classes open to all in all branches of exact science, and a common workshop, where apparatus of all kinds can be repaired, adjusted, modified, with the help of highly skilled workmen. This is the general picture of a laboratory fully equipped for practical scientific teaching.

One other subject remains to be mentioned, Surveying. It would be hard to find a subject better adapted for teaching. The field work consists in making methodical measurements of many different kinds, and the plotting of the results, when the map is drawn, forms a perfect check on their accuracy. The work is novel and interesting, particularly the astronomical part ; it must be carried out by parties in the open country and is more like a walking tour than a grind at work.

This completes the scheme of the college work :—

Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, the Application of

these to engineering problems, Laboratory practice in accurate measurement, Surveying in the open country. It is difficult to imagine a more interesting, a broader or more thorough scientific training. There is no technical teaching, but it is in the highest degree practical, for what the student learns will be of the utmost service to him all his life.

I will now say a few words about the training of the engineer before he comes up to the University and after he has taken his degree.

It would be an immense advantage if all the men going in for engineering had learnt the elementary parts of physics, statics, and dynamics before coming up. These subjects are being taught in some of the public schools, and well taught, but usually only to boys who specialize. As science gains her proper place in education I believe that these subjects will be taught to all boys—in the meantime those who think of becoming engineers should specialize in science at school.

After leaving the University, the graduate must begin his apprenticeship or pupilage. The object of an engineering apprenticeship is not to teach how to chip and file and turn in a lathe; the engineer will probably never need to use these arts. What the apprentice really learns, while he works at his bench, is how work is organized, the system of storage, in what forms materials can be bought in the market, the difference between good and bad workmanship, what accuracy can be attained in manufacture, how men are handled, what a foreman's duties are, and what the workmen's views are on all sorts of subjects. These and a hundred other things he learns, which can only be learnt in real work. The strict discipline in the workshop, the friendship with a class of men leading very different lives from his own, having

to acknowledge them as his betters at all the work he is engaged on—these things make the apprenticeship a most valuable training apart from the merely professional point of view. At the end of his apprenticeship our young man is fully equipped to enter the world, and if he has won his employer's attention by keenness and hard work during his apprenticeship, he will in all probability obtain an offer of a post at once. So his training is completed, and he enters on his life work with

A mind through all her powers irradiate.

I now have to explain how the teaching which I have described will be carried out in Oxford. There is already first-rate teaching in mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, and metallurgy; the pure engineering teaching will be my special duty. A scheme for co-ordinating all the subjects into a well-balanced and coherent course of study has already been drawn up by a committee of the Board of the Faculty of Natural Science. For carrying it out I must rely on co-operation and help from the whole University. I have already received so much willing assistance and cordial co-operation, that I feel no doubt that any call made on the departments of Natural Science and Mathematics will be willingly responded to, but I wish to make a wider appeal to-day, and to ask for a sympathetic welcome for my subject from all, and help more particularly from the college tutors. It is impossible to expect engineering teaching from the tutors at first, but I hope that before long there will be lecturers taking subjects directly connected with the engineering course; for example, it would not be difficult to arrange at once for the necessary mathematics. It is specially desirable to make full use of the existing organization for teaching, but at first the engineering students will have

to rely largely on the advice and assistance which will be given in the laboratory. The personal help and individual advice of tutors is of great value to the student, and I need only say that I shall do everything in my power to act as engineering tutor as long as the need may last.

It is proposed that the undergraduate should take the new Science Preliminary Examination at the end of his first or third term, and then take some more mathematics, physics, and chemistry, but devote most of his time to engineering proper. During the first Long Vacation, a Survey Class will be organized to do surveying for about a month on the Welsh, Northumberland, or Scotch hills. Instruction will be given by the Oxford Instructor in Surveying. We shall live either in little country inns or under canvas. During the undergraduates' second Long Vacation I hope to arrange a class of engine and boiler testing at the lavishly equipped mechanical laboratory of the Birmingham University; testing of this nature forms a valuable adjunct to the ordinary laboratory work.

The only building provided for the Engineering Department is the Millard Laboratory. It is small and somewhat shabby. Of equipment there is almost none, but a sum of about £1,100 has been subscribed for initial expenses, and with this I shall be able to get sufficient apparatus to start with, while our numbers are small. Large and elaborate apparatus is unnecessary for an engineering laboratory, and is apt to become a snare for both teacher and student. Some accurate measuring instruments are costly, such as the surveying instruments, and we cannot do without them; but I hope that I shall not have to ask for much more money till our numbers

grow and we require larger quarters. Much of the best work in the past has been done with the simplest means. Here is what Helmholtz wrote of his first visit to Faraday :—

'I succeeded in finding the first physicist in England and in Europe—Faraday. Those were splendid moments. He is as simple, charming, and unaffected as a child. I have never seen a man with such winning ways. He was, moreover, extremely kind, and showed me all there was to see. That, indeed, was little enough, for a few wires and some old bits of wood and iron seem to serve him for the greatest discoveries.'

And here is Clerk Maxwell's description of his workroom in 1848 :—

'I have regularly set up shop now above the washhouse at the gate, in a garret. I have an old door set on two barrels, and two chairs, of which one is safe, and a skylight above, which will slide up and down.'

When I remember the dingy little classroom in Edinburgh in which my father taught, and all the engineers who were trained in it—there was no laboratory, no apparatus—I feel sure that Oxford students need not suffer from the roughness of our accommodation or the simplicity of the apparatus, and I am confident that in the future—the near future—as our numbers and needs increase, those generous benefactors who have enabled the Chair to be founded will see that we have a home worthy of the University.

Thus through the preliminary examination, summer courses, and engineering lectures and laboratory, the student will prepare for the final honour school in engineering. The final examination includes mathematics, physics, chemistry, various branches of engineering, and surveying.

I need hardly point out to you how essential a final

school in engineering is as a goal for the student to work for. I hope I have shown that the scheme includes an educational course of the highest value and worthy of recognition by the University. Without this recognition the whole must fall to the ground. The other English Universities have long ago made engineering an avenue to their degrees. It may be wise for Oxford to move slowly and consider its steps well, but I believe that the time has now come—I take it that the foundation of this new Chair proves that in your opinion also the time has come—for Oxford to advance. As the Vice-Chancellor has said 'Iam movendus est orbis academicus.'

A scheme, prepared by the Board of the Faculty of Natural Science, will, I believe, shortly be laid before you by the Council. I appeal to you, therefore, with confidence to receive this scheme favourably, by which the path to Academic honours will be opened to engineers.

By this path, if it is your pleasure, shall go forth men to all the ends of the earth who will gain new honours for Oxford and blessings from fellahin for water in a thirsty land; from ryots for famine warded off; from crowded cities for health and comfort; from solitary dwellers in forest and mountain and veld for roads and bridges.

It is for you to open the Gate.

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ENGLISH PHILOLOGY IN ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

An Inaugural Lecture

Delivered in the Examination Schools

on February 2, 1921

BY

HENRY CECIL WYLD, M.A., B.Litt.

MERTON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
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ENGLISH PHILOLOGY IN ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

It is a pious custom that on the occasion of his inaugural lecture a new Professor should pay a tribute to the memory of his predecessor in office.

I shall conform the more readily to this practice because Arthur Sampson Napier, the first Merton Professor of English Language and Literature, was one whom, in common with all who could in any way appreciate his work, I not only honoured and respected as a scholar, but for whom I also had an esteem and affection as a man. It would be impertinent, in this place where he was so well known and so justly valued, to insist at length upon his distinction as a man of learning, or upon his worth as a human being, but it is a good thing to remember and to speak of good men who are gone, and you will permit me, before I pass on to deal with the subject of my lecture, to touch quite briefly upon what appear to me to be among the most memorable qualities of Professor Napier's work and personality, as they impressed one who was honoured with his friendship for many years, and who latterly was in some degree intimate with him.

His profound learning, the minute and patient care which he bestowed upon everything he undertook, the number and importance of his publications, made him known wherever Old and Middle English are studied, and have given him a permanent and honourable place in English Philology. So much is known to all who have any acquaintance with the subject. Those who know Professor Napier's extensive work in OE. Lexicography, in Old and Middle English Grammar, and in

editing Old and Middle English texts, are aware of the fineness, the completeness, the clearness which characterize everything he produced. If ever any man was saturated with his subject it was he, and his knowledge was stored in his mind in such an orderly way that it was always and instantly available. His command of minute points of detail connected with the earlier periods of our language was amazing, as was his familiarity with what had been written upon them. If one consulted him upon some difficult problem connected with OE. grammar, syntax, or lexicography, it seemed that in an instant he had covered his table with texts in which passages bearing on the point had been marked, and with monographs in which other laborious scholars had dealt with the question at issue. He was absolutely devoted to his subject and to his pupils. He was extraordinarily generous of time and trouble in all that concerned their welfare and progress; he was lavish in his aid to all, whether pupils or maturer friends, who sought his advice. How often, after discussing a point in conversation, would one receive a letter, in that neat and beautiful handwriting which his friends knew well, containing fresh references and illustrations. To Professor Napier's personal kindness and helpfulness to his friends the prefaces of many books written in this country and on the Continent bear witness. Besides his larger works such as his edition of Wulfstan, the monumental book on OE. Glosses, the Crawford Charters (in which he had the collaboration of Mr. Stevenson), and the edition of the Rule of Saint Chrodegang, &c., Professor Napier wrote several grammatical studies of special texts, such as the 'Holy Rood Tree', 'Jacob and Joseph', &c., which are models of concise and exact statement, and innumerable shorter articles which, from the acuteness of observation and perspicacity of judgement displayed, have a very real value, and sometimes, as in the note on the ortho-

graphy of the *Ormulum*, represent a new and important contribution. His wide knowledge of English manuscripts was probably unique, and his patient scrutiny often led to the discovery of hitherto unnoticed versions and fragments of texts.

To sum up this very inadequate account of a distinguished man, we may think of him, and honour his memory, as a disinterested and conscientious scholar, enthusiastic, untiring, and fastidiously exact; as a devoted and admirable teacher, sincere and single-eyed in promoting the advance of his subject and the progress of his pupils; as a loyal and generous friend; as an honourable, sensitive, and courteous English gentleman. He has left a mark upon English studies which will long remain. We in the School of English in Oxford ought to treasure his memory and learn by his example.

It is a natural transition to pass from one who for so long played a distinguished part in furthering the cause of English Philology here and in the wider world of learning outside, to consider some aspects of this study as it now exists in English Universities and to indulge in some aspirations for the future.

It is very desirable that a teacher who is called upon to take an active part in the organization and direction of a group of studies in a University should from time to time take stock of the progress of those studies among the persons it is his duty to teach, that he should reconsider his own methods and perhaps re-define his aims in relation to the general advance of the subject and to the needs of his pupils. As a branch of learning grows and changes in scope with the advance of knowledge, it is inevitable and proper that the conception of it, as expressed by the University syllabuses and curricula, should be altered, and that the whole organization of elementary teaching and studies should be gradually modified.

Without such a periodic revision on the part of the individual teachers and of the University bodies responsible for the organization of studies, there is a danger that teaching may become conventional and lifeless, that curricula may become obsolete and may no longer represent the state of knowledge. When these things happen in a particular University School the interest of the rising generation in the subject will flag, the life of the School will run low, and it can no longer adequately discharge its function of fostering and promoting the progress of the studies with which it is concerned.

I venture to think that it may be profitable on the present occasion to take a brief survey of the present state of those subjects which I have the honour to represent in this University, to inquire into the general conditions essential to the well-being of these studies in English Universities, and to consider what may be the lines of development and progress for the future.

English Philology is in many ways a different science from what it was, say, twenty years ago. Much fresh knowledge has been accumulated; the centres of interest have to some extent shifted; new lines of investigation have been opened up; our views on several general problems have been modified; the scope of the subject has been widened; we can see possibilities for the future which were undreamt of until recently. These things have undoubtedly changed in some respects our general conception of the subject, have given our aims a different direction, and modified our methods of dealing with problems.

It appears to me that the time has come when we should consider with candour and courage the whole position of our curricula, and our methods of training, in relation to the present state of knowledge. It is not quite certain that our English University schemes of study have altogether kept pace with the progress of

philological research. No sane person will suggest a sudden break with tradition, nor any extravagant and revolutionary changes, to be carried out in a moment; but we may nevertheless be prepared to admit the desirability of a certain re-casting and re-fashioning of our system, to be introduced, in the interests of subject and students alike, as time and circumstances shall permit. My remarks apply not merely to Oxford, but to the English Universities generally, for in most of them English Philology is now taught, and, allowing for minor differences, the general scheme of these studies is very much the same in all.

A man must be very devoid of imagination, nay, of ordinary sensibility, if, on being appointed to the Chair which I have the honour to hold, he does not feel some stirring of the pulses when he reflects at once upon the joyful privilege of serving the University of Oxford as a teacher of English, upon the enormous possibilities of development which exist in such a treasury of the ancient records of our language as this, and upon the colleagues with whom he has the happiness to be associated. Neither can he fail to think also upon the responsibilities inseparable from the possession of such privileges. The sense of great responsibilities, and of difficulties to be overcome, is a pleasing stimulus to healthy minds, and, though it may sober a man, need not, most assuredly, make him fearful or depressed.

May I for the occasion appropriate the whimsical remarks which a famous son of Oxford addressed to her about 340 years ago? 'Concerning myself,' says John Lyly, 'I haue alwayes thought so reuerently of Oxford, of the Schollers, of the manners, that I seemed to be rather an Idolater than a blasphemer. . . .

'The Estrich that taketh the greatest pride in her feathers, picketh some of the worst out and burneth them: there is no tree but hath some blast, no counte-

nance but hath some blemish, and shall Oxford then be blameless? I wish it were so, but I cannot thinke it is so.

'But as it is it may be better, and were it badder, it is not the worst.

'I thinke there are fewe Vniversities that haue less faultes then Oxford, many that haue more, none but haue some.'

By what tests shall we gauge the general state of health or the degree of vitality possessed by English Philology as a University study in this country?

I think the tests by which a University School must ultimately be judged are the amount of its fresh contributions to knowledge, and the number and quality of the teachers of the subject whom it trains.

I am at a loss to suggest surer tests than these two of the fruitful and efficient organization of studies—the production of research, and the training of those who in their turn will create and disseminate knowledge. If we find in a University a steadily increasing band of students pursuing research in a given subject with eagerness and success, and continually widening the boundaries of knowledge, we are certain that, in that University, that group of studies is in a lively and flourishing condition.

If we find further that from that University there comes a continual stream of highly-trained and competent teachers in the subject, teachers who are themselves independent workers, and who will spread among the rising generation sound knowledge, exact methods, and a genuine spirit of inquiry, we must admit that the University School which fosters and develops studies in these ways is fulfilling its function satisfactorily, and that the branch of learning for which it stands will live and grow.

I submit that as University teachers we are bound to apply such tests to our School, and that we must not

shirk the ordeal. If the result of such a trial be unfavourable we must set our house in order.

We may concede at once that the tests proposed are perhaps more vital to us philologists than for our friends on the literary side of the English School. There are doubtless other touchstones, whereby to test the student of literature, than that of research in the strictest sense, though he cannot wholly escape the application. We may say of him that he is

> Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease.

I suppose no one ever said this of a Philologist. It may suitably be asked concerning him and his part of the School, if it does not add to the knowledge of the subject, and teach others to do this, if it does not train others to spread the latest and best knowledge, what is it trying to do? How else can it be justified as part of a University system?

Now it would be unreasonable to expect that every candidate who gets a Second or even a First Class in an Honour School of English must be either a Teacher or a Researcher, or both, and that failing such a result the School must be condemned. Not every one has either the inclination, the ability, or the opportunity to become an independent and productive student. A dozen circumstances may arise in the life of an individual which may change his whole outlook, and upset all his plans. In the words of the poet, 'Marriage, and Death, and Division' may 'make barren our lives'. But allowing fully for these and other contingencies, it is a fair criticism that of the several hundreds of persons who during the last twenty years have graduated in the English Schools of the Universities of this country, an astonishingly small proportion ever are, or ever will be, heard of again in connexion with the subject to which

they devoted their lives as undergraduates. Where are the published contributions to English Philology of this imposing army of scholars? The bibliographies of the subject show but small traces of their labours. Where are the highly-trained teachers? When a teaching post in English Philology has to be filled at a University the candidates of real promise or achievement are very few.

Again, there is but slight evidence as yet that the Universities have made any impression, directly or indirectly, among the public at large, by disseminating sound knowledge concerning the history of the English tongue. Not that the public generally is uninterested in the subject. That is the tragedy of the situation. The public is extraordinarily interested in all sorts of questions connected with English Philology; in etymology, in varieties of pronunciation and grammatical usage, in the sources of the Cockney dialect, in vocabulary, in the origin of place and personal names, in the pronunciation of Chaucer and Shakespeare. You may hear these matters discussed in railway carriages and smoking-rooms; you may read long letters about them in the press, adorned sometimes with a display of curious information, collected at random, misunderstood, wrongly interpreted, and used in an absurd way to bolster up preposterous theories. No, the subject-matter of English Philology possesses a strange fascination for the man in the street, but almost everything that he thinks and says about it is incredibly and hopelessly wrong. There is no subject which attracts a larger number of cranks and quacks than English Philology. In no subject, probably, is the knowledge of the educated public at a lower ebb. The general ignorance concerning it is so profound that it is very difficult to persuade people that there really is a considerable mass of well-ascertained fact, and a definite body of doctrine on linguistic questions.

If it be one of the functions of a University to train

those who shall educate the nation, and so create a public well informed in the various branches of learning, it would appear that, in respect of everything connected with the history of our own language, this function has so far been imperfectly performed.

Let us return to the state of research in English Philology. I submit that this is really the crucial point. If research in a subject is inactive, and confined to a few persons, it is difficult to see how the study of the subject can flourish.

The mere fact that research in a particular field of study is not widely pursued implies a feeble interest in that study, and a low vitality in the School which is supposed to promote it.

In such circumstances it is useless to expect a large body of teachers of the first quality, for it is a truism that these can only be found among those who are themselves investigators.

If there are but few teachers of this rank in a subject it is clear that the study must decline and languish, and fewer people will be produced who in their turn will contribute to the progress of knowledge. Thus there is a vicious circle which must be broken before health and hope can be born.

To make clear how small is the volume of research in English Philology recently produced in this country, it is enough to state a few facts.

It is not that no great and important work has been done, but that the number of the workers is so few, and that their number does not increase. Every one recalls the great names of Earle, Skeat, and Sweet, the first and last sons of this University.

John Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in Oxford, was a splendid type of scholar of the old school, with an admirable knowledge of OE. and a fine sense of literature. Modern Philology, as we now understand

it, began when he was already past middle age. It is doubtful whether it had any attractions for him. Professor Skeat will long be remembered for his Etymological Dictionary, a very remarkable work for a single author, for his numerous editions of Old and Middle English texts, including those of Chaucer and Piers Plowman, and for his many books which popularized the philology of his day. His knowledge of ME. as a language was unrivalled, and he was a tireless and enthusiastic worker.

Henry Sweet was probably the greatest pure philologist that this country ever produced, and one of the most constructive minds of his age. I am proud to acknowledge that it is very largely to his teaching and influence that I owe whatever claim I may possess to stand here to-day. He was one of the first Englishmen to make himself acquainted with the views and methods of the German philologists, though he maintained all his life a singularly detached and independent attitude of mind. He is acknowledged by the Germans themselves, notably by Sievers, to be in a sense the founder of all sound and clear knowledge on the relation of the OE. dialects; in his *Oldest English Texts*, and the editions of Alfred's works, he provided a rich mine of reliable material for students of Old English. His Anglo-Saxon Reader, with its admirable choice of texts, many of which he himself edited for the first time, and its excellent grammatical Introductions, is by far the best book of its kind hitherto produced. In his paper, published in the seventies, *Words, Logic, and Grammar*, he very largely anticipated the modern theories concerning the life and growth of language which were a little later expressed at greater length and with more elaboration by Leskien, Osthoff, Brugmann, Paul, and others.

This is not the place to speak of Sweet's ceaseless

activities in other linguistic fields, and of his contribution to philological theory on general and particular questions. For fifty years his name has been more frequently quoted by foreign scholars than that of any other Englishman, and is repeatedly mentioned in respect of some view or discovery, in nearly every book and monograph in any way connected with the history of English. We shall have occasion directly to refer to Sweet again.

I pass now to an enumeration, not of achievements, but of work which our University Schools of English might have produced, but which is unfortunately absent.

There is no OE. Grammar of an exhaustive character, by an Englishman, based on a first-hand acquaintance with the principal texts of all the dialects. Advanced students in this country who do not read German consult a translation by the American Professor Cook, of the Grammar, now many years old, by the German Professor Sievers. Of the innumerable monographs which give a descriptive account of the dialect of particular texts, hardly any are by Englishmen, and of these few nearly all were written in Germany under the influence of German Professors. Some of our younger scholars have of recent years produced editions of late OE. texts, and most of these promise an Introduction in which the grammatical and historical questions connected with the dialect are to be discussed. These grammatical Introductions have not appeared as a rule. A few of these recent editions have been preceded by a grammatical Introduction of a very elementary character, which shows no independent constructive grasp of the problems at issue. Although most English Universities were inclined to lay the chief weight, in their curricula and examinations, on Old English, they have not apparently inspired their students with the desire or the capacity to make any serious contribution

to our knowledge of this form of our language, or of the innumerable problems concerning it, which will occur to those familiar with the subject.

Passing to Middle English, there is no complete ME. Grammar in existence which deals comprehensively with the phonology, inflexions, and syntax of all the dialects. There is not even a fairly complete concise account of phonology and inflexions. Hardly any of the younger scholars produced by our Universities have as yet contributed to our knowledge of any of the difficult special problems connected with the ME. dialects and their mutual relations, with the distribution of dialect features in ME., or with the dialect or constructions of any single ME. text. There is no exhaustive bibliographical guide by an Englishman to ME. manuscripts, to representative texts and editions, and to the various monographs relating to them. There are two works of this kind, one of considerable size, compiled by Americans, and both published in Germany.

And yet one of the founders of ME. Grammar, and of dialectal variations, was an Englishman—Richard Morris. To his editions and their Introductions, and to the more or less systematic account in his specimens of ME., or to the Introduction to the Reader of the American Professor Emerson, the English student who does not know German is forced to go for information on ME. Grammar.

Morris's Introductions, excellent for the time when they were written, and constituting real pioneer work, are now necessarily antiquated. Failing these the student must find everything out for himself by a study of the texts themselves, or in the pages of innumerable German special monographs. Of the many important studies which have appeared during the last ten or twenty years on special problems of ME. Grammar and dialectology, those by Englishmen may be counted on the fingers of

one hand and yet leave a few fingers to spare. No independent systematic study of the language of Chaucer has been made by an Englishman, though there is an English translation of a book on the language of his poetry written nearly thirty years ago by the Germanized Dutch scholar Ten Brink ; and a recent study of the language of his prose by a German. Truly the way of the student of Middle English who cannot read German is hard ; he must either derive his knowledge of most of the latest investigations at second-hand, or remain completely ignorant of them. Concerning the vital question of the origin and development of the literary dialect, which emerges during the ME. period, there is hardly a single contribution by an English writer. The specific study of the early dialect of London before and after Chaucer, which has of late years formed the subject of important monographs by German writers, has been left untouched by our countrymen ; even the great work of Morsbach, now more than thirty years old, which is the foundation of all our views and the starting-point of all later research on the subject, is unknown to a large number of students in English Universities. Yet, after all, it is the dialect of London which is the ancestor of the language of English literature, and of the Received Form of Spoken English, and a minute knowledge of its early character and later developments is part of the essential equipment for the study of the general history of English.

When we turn to what has been done in this country for the historical study of English since Chaucer, the outlook at present is even bleaker than that in Middle English. The foundation of this new knowledge was indeed laid by Englishmen. More than fifty years ago Ellis began that remarkable series of studies in which he reconstructed the pronunciation of Chaucer and proceeded to trace, step by step, the development of English

sounds from the ME. period to the present-day form. Ellis was followed a few years later by Henry Sweet, whose *History of English Sounds*, first published in 1874, and re-published in greatly changed form by the Clarendon Press in 1888, discussed from the point of view of an accomplished phonetician the various sound changes which must have taken place when parent Aryan passed into Primitive Germanic, and again when this was differentiated into West Germanic, whence sprang Old English. Sweet discusses the sound changes of Old English itself and the gradual developments from this to Middle and Modern English. He bases his history of English Pronunciation after the ME. period mainly upon the same material which Ellis had discovered and worked with wonderful sagacity. The younger writer, however, had the advantage of an unrivalled knowledge of phonetics, in which study he was himself a great pioneer, a thorough philological training, and a wide command of languages living and ancient. He brought to his task also an intellect of extraordinary acuteness and power, and a grasp of philological principles which has rarely been equalled. His task was to trace the path of sound change and to fix the chronology. His work is a masterpiece of clarity, conciseness, and insight. It has, together with the great work of Ellis *On Early English Pronunciation*, a permanent place in the history of English Philology. Many of the views first enunciated by Sweet are now the commonplaces of our subject, and are taken for granted, often without acknowledgement, in elementary lectures and text-books. It has often happened that some view propounded as a novelty by a later writer, and supported by elaborate illustration and argument, has turned out to be in Sweet's book at the time, at least in germ.

The works of these two great men formed the starting-point of an enormous mass of investigation which has

been published since in Germany and Scandinavia. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that most of the work on the English of the Modern period during the last thirty years is directly or indirectly inspired by Ellis and Sweet. Scholars have, so to speak, been working in their ante-room, sifting and adding to the material which they amassed, weighing afresh the evidence which they had considered, checking their results, confirming or modifying their conclusions. In all this labour, we in this country have taken but a trifling share—we have for the most part left it to the eager and industrious foreigner.

The material upon which Ellis and Sweet, and most of their followers, until quite recently, chiefly relied, consisted of the statements of grammarians, and writers upon English pronunciation, both English and foreign, from the first quarter of the sixteenth century down to the end of the eighteenth. From these statements, frequently obscure, and constantly contradictory, supplemented by deductions from the rhymes of the poets, the prevailing views now held concerning the pronunciation of the past have been built up. When the student to-day is invited to learn a special pronunciation of the vowels in ME., and to acquire some views on the probable pronunciation of Shakespeare, the pronunciation which he learns for these earlier periods is virtually that propounded by Ellis and Sweet. Their views remained to all intents unchallenged by responsible scholars, except in a few points, until quite recently.

By the side of those who have carried out this minute examination of the old grammarians, there has been on the Continent an active school of younger writers who have investigated with minuteness the grammatical features of some of the principal English writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with a view to providing

materials for a history of Modern Literary English. As a result of the impetus given by Ellis and Sweet, histories, with some pretensions to exhaustiveness, of the English of the Modern period, have appeared in the last ten or fifteen years, one by a German, Horn, the other by a Dane, the eminent Professor Jespersen, who writes in English, but publishes his book in Germany. A much smaller book on Modern English by a Swede, Ekwall, appeared in Germany a few years ago. These works represent not only the personal research of their authors, but summarize also the results of the numerous investigations in the history of Modern English since Sweet. In their lists of authorities you will hardly find another English name. Since the appearance of these books there has been no excuse for that omission, so significant of their relation to the progress of English studies, of the history of the Modern period in the curricula of English Universities. I believe that all our Universities now admit, in theory at any rate, that the history of our language did not come to an end with the age of Chaucer.

But it may well be asked how, since nearly all the recent work on the Modern period has been done by foreigners, who write, for the most part, in German, it is possible for an English student who does not read that language to keep himself abreast of the progress of his subject. The answer is that he cannot possibly do so, for the Modern period, any more than for the earlier periods. He must rely upon what his teachers choose to tell him, and upon what he can gather from English text-books, which are few in number and mostly very antiquated.

During the War, at least three important monographs on OE. and ME. dialects have appeared, two by Germans, and one by a Swede. It is quite indispensable for all serious students of English to be acquainted with the

results of these investigations. From this brief survey it will appear that English Universities, for all their Schools of English, have not, on the whole, produced or promoted constructive work in English Philology. Sweet and Ellis, the great English philologists of the last age, owed nothing of their knowledge to their own Universities, and indeed received but small recognition from these. Their fame was and is greater abroad than in this country. While we may be proud to claim these men as countrymen, no English University can boast of having produced them.

With one great exception, which I shall refer to again directly, the English genius, so far as English Philology is concerned, has hitherto run on the lines of textual work—editions of works in Old and Middle English, sometimes with a glossary attached, sometimes provided with a translation, sometimes annotated, sometimes not. The editions of Beowulf by Dr. Chambers and Professor Sedgefield, that of Widsiþ by Dr. Chambers, deserve special mention. They are solid monuments of English scholarship. As has been said, comparatively few recent editors of old texts in this country have offered any systematic treatment of the language of the texts they produce. They have been content to provide some of the indispensable material for research, and to leave it to others to make use of it.

We must, I think, regret that English Universities have in the main accepted the part of mere onlookers at the various *tours de force* which the foreigner has performed in the great game of English Philology, and have largely dropped out of active participation. To all this there is the great exception which I have just alluded to in passing. I mean the great Oxford Dictionary. Of this monument of human genius and industry we may well say with Johnson that it is 'vain to blame, and useless to praise it'. On the magnitude of the conception,

and the splendour of the achievement, it were impertinent to comment. The fact that this great work is being carried on in our midst is an asset of tremendous importance to the University, and in particular to our School. It should act as a continual inspiration to all of us who are labouring, however humbly, in the field of English studies. There at least, in the heart of Oxford, in the Old Ashmolean, the great work of research is perpetually going on, approaching slowly but surely towards completion under the direction of the venerable scholar whose name is a household word among all students of English the world over. It is moreover one of the chief elements of hopefulness for the future of the Oxford School of English, that two of the editors of the Dictionary are officially associated with us. What our School has owed in the past, and will owe to these most distinguished students of English, it is impossible to estimate. Their presence in Oxford, and the important positions which they hold in connexion with our School, are grounds for deep thankfulness.

I do not wish to labour the point, it is quite unnecessary to insist on the obvious, but I do wish to suggest that it is one of the signs of the general weakness and inefficiency of our University Schools of English, that they were not more in touch with this national work, and ready to be called upon to supply workers to thrash out such problems as the editors might from time to time have submitted to them. Such work would have been an excellent training for the young scholar. If the Universities cannot train people to take part in such work, the scoffer might ask, what can they do, and for what purpose do their Schools of English exist?

So far, it must be admitted, our reflections have been of a depressing character. It is not an exhilarating task to exhibit defects in a system. No one can be

enthusiastic over results which are chiefly negative. If that were all, we teachers of English Philology must indeed be of all men most miserable. But happily there is hope in the future. There is a widespread desire to amend and enliven the treatment of English Philology in our Universities. We have a profound conviction of the intrinsic interest and value of our subject, and we feel that it must in the long run attract and inspire first-rate students, if it be properly presented, and if really healthy conditions of study can once be secured. The faults and shortcomings lie not in persons but in systems. If this be so, it must be possible that with goodwill and patience we may arrive, after consideration and discussion of our curricula, our methods, and our results, at some agreement as to the nature of the evils and weaknesses which exist, and at some practical plan for improvement.

We are all anxious to infuse as much life and vigour as possible into the studies of our pupils.

In the following remarks I venture to offer, with all respect and diffidence, certain suggestions for the sympathetic consideration and criticism of my colleagues here and in other English Universities.

I naturally cannot expect to command complete agreement in every detail, but I hope to secure a certain body of assent to my main propositions. At the very worst I trust that all will acquiesce in the view that there is a case for discussion.

As Burke says—'Propositions are made, not only ineffectually, but somewhat disreputably, when the minds of men are not properly disposed for their reception.'

The propositions which I wish to advance are the following:—The study of English Philology is not in a healthy and vigorous condition in English Universities; this is shown chiefly by the poor output of research in this subject in this country, and also by the

fact that it is not widely popular among the students of our Universities, for of those who offer it for the Degree Examination, very few would do so were it not generally a compulsory element in the Honour Schools of English; we cannot expect to get a very considerable body of research produced in our Universities until we secure a larger number of special students of the subject, and having got these, unless we provide far greater facilities than at present exist in most Universities for training them in the aims and methods of investigation. To do this might involve some modification in the existing curricula for undergraduates, and a well-thought-out organization for post-graduates.

I need not insist further upon the smallness of the amount of philological research at present being carried on in this country, and the inconsiderable number of persons engaged upon it. That I take to be symptomatic of unhealthy conditions. I pass on to the alleged unpopularity of what is known in some places as 'the Language side' of the English School, as opposed to the literary aspect. I think it sometimes happens that a certain confusion of mind exists as to the precise content of 'Language Study' in the University. In Honour Schools of English the 'Language side' invariably, I believe, includes two quite different and distinct lines of work. There is first of all what we may call the *practical study* of the earlier forms of English by which I mean the actual learning of these for purposes of reading the older literature. What are usually called respectively Old English and Middle English are so different from the English of to-day that they have to be studied, like any other unfamiliar tongue, with the grammar and dictionary. I do not know why it should be thought a greater hardship to learn the old forms of one's own language in this way than to learn any other form of speech with which one is unacquainted.

The other aspect is the *historical study* of English, also known as English Philology. This way of considering language, the habit of inquiring into the why and wherefore of forms which, in the purely practical study, we take for granted as a rule, without asking questions about them, the process of tracing back forms to something earlier, and attempting to define and understand the path of change which has been followed, the formulation of phonetic laws, the attempt to explain the relations of varieties or dialects, the whole habit of mind which regards language as something perpetually changing, and not as something fixed and immutable—all this is usually quite unfamiliar to those who first come up to a University. It is strange, and to many it appears very difficult at the start, very repellant, and very bewildering. There is a huge mass of minute detail which to the novice may appear quite unrelated to every human interest, and impossible to fit into any reasonable scheme of life which he is able to construct. This strange welter of facts and theories represents the detestable subject called 'Philology', which has to be 'got up' from text-books besprinkled with ugly symbols, or laboriously acquired through lectures which seem to be disfigured by uncouth terms—often, apparently, drawn from some alien tongue—and by constructions that resemble a kind of pidgin-English, which fall upon unwilling ears like the words of some unholy incantation. Amid this feast of horrors, the teachers of Philology are seen as sinister figures, brewing their deadly concoctions in a kind of infernal witches' cauldron.

> Well had the boding tremblers learn'd to trace
> The day's disaster in his morning face.

It is some such picture as this, I gather, that flashes into the minds of many students of English when they think of Philology and its teachers. Nothing certainly could be more remote from the truth than

such a vision, but it would be interesting to inquire how it is that 'the very word is like a knell' to conjure up such dismal dreams, as I am told it does for some.

It is beyond dispute that the studies of Literature and Philology appeal respectively to different types of mind, and that an absorbing interest in one often seems to exclude any taste for the other. Opinions will differ as to the propriety of compelling all those who take a School of English Literature to attempt to master some of the details of English Philology. Speaking for myself, I am not inclined to insist that every one, irrespective of any special taste or capacity for our studies, shall be driven into the philological class-rooms. I should prefer to allow a student whose bent was entirely or mainly literary to devote himself to his own studies, and would not ask him to exchange 'this mournful gloom'—as he might feel it—'for that celestial light'.

Supposing we have dispensed from attendance in the Philology Lecture Room those who merely go there to 'sit and hear each other groan', that is, all those who do not really wish to pursue serious philological studies, we have to ask ourselves whether we cannot turn a reasonable proportion of the others into productive scholars. It is from them, and not from the unwilling labourers, that the philologists of the future must come.

All good courses of study are designed to communicate a solid basis of sound principles and a certain indispensable body of fact; to develop the power of reasoning along specific lines so that the student is able to draw reasonable conclusions from the facts which he collects and compares, and finally to put him in a position to discover new facts for himself, and interpret them. The last process, which is that of all advanced independent study, is also that of research. The desire to pursue study of this kind springs from that insatiable spirit of curiosity and inquiry which it is

the business of the teacher to kindle and foster in his pupils; the power to pursue it involves a familiarity, at first hand, with the sources of knowledge, which in our case are documents, the records of English speech throughout the ages; success in the pursuit of inquiry will depend upon the use of strict and accurate method. This can be learnt only by training and experience. It seems evident that what we should aim at in all our teaching of Philology is to arouse in our pupils this spirit of inquiry, to bring them as early as possible into direct contact with the sources, and to train them in the method of using these.

Is it putting it too high to say that a successful course of instruction is one that is felt to be a perpetual voyage of discovery, in which indeed the teacher is the leader, but in which all share? In such a scheme the dogmatic lecture plays but a very small part after the initial stages, and dependence upon the text-book wellnigh vanishes altogether.

English Philology is eminently a live and progressive branch of learning, and no system of instruction can do it justice which does not reflect that life and that constant expansion. For English Philology is not a mere abstraction; the subject-matter of this study is not remote from human life and experience. On the contrary, it is inextricably interwoven with these. For we are to consider that human speech has no existence apart from those who speak it. The history of a language is an account of a certain group of human activities, which are followed over a considerable period of time. The changing attitude to life, the intellectual and moral atmosphere of the successive ages, the whole genius of the English people, is reflected and expressed in the changing habits of their speech, in the vocabulary and idiom, in the syntax and word-order—nay, even in pronunciation, in the speed and general mode of

utterance. In the ever-shifting scenes of this drama of language, the unfolding of the nation's life is depicted no less faithfully, if we can read the lesson, than in political and social institutions, and in literature. Here at least is one common ground between the great studies of Language and Literature, of the instrument and of the perfect melody.

If English Philology be thought of in this way, an intensely human interest is found to be inseparable from it; human history, human thought and passion flash and tingle through every fibre of human speech; language is as many-hued as life itself, and the problems to which it gives rise are no less varied. English Philology, I repeat, is a living study.

It is also a growing one. If the roots of the tree do not go very deep among us as yet, nor its branches spread very wide, its position is very firm in other countries, and its reach is for ever extending. Thus owing to the enthusiasm and industry of many workers the bounds of our science are continually being widened; new lines of investigation open before us; fresh roads of approach are trodden; new objects of inquiry are examined; a minuter knowledge is gained, a surer interpretation is made possible, and old theories are modified. But still, the end is not yet, for the field, fortunately, is almost boundless. With each addition to our knowledge, each improvement of our method, comes a corresponding increase in the number of problems which we perceive to be awaiting solution, and also in our capacity to attack them. Some things which to-day are to be found even in our text-books were undreamt of by our predecessors but a short time ago, and it is certain that the younger generation of English philologists, some of whom I hope may be listening to me now, will reach solutions of many things which are now dark, and of others which we have not yet

thought of, by paths which we cannot now even imagine.

A question which ought to be put, and seriously considered, is whether the conception of English Philology which is expressed by the syllabuses of our Universities at the present time is a true and sufficient one of the science as it now exists at its best. Is the view taken, so far as we can gather it from these documents, and test it by the examination statutes, or from the papers actually set, too much that of a rather lifeless subject? Is the conception too narrow, and are some of the more important features left altogether out of account? Do the courses of instruction and the examinations always adapt and adjust themselves, surely and readily, to the progressive nature of the subject? Are our methods of instruction adequate to the task of presenting the subject satisfactorily to the students? Are they such as to introduce them to the main current of development which is taking place in English Philology, and to fit them one day to take their place among those who are contributing to its progress?

I shall not attempt to settle these points here, but shall try to indicate the lines along which the general organization of English Language studies might, and, I think, with advantage, proceed. If, as it may well be, many of my ideals and aspirations are already realized, here and there, so much the better. All will agree, I fancy—and the point is probably secured in most Universities—that examinations should be adapted to the courses of study and instruction, and that these latter should not be determined too rigidly by examination statutes. Every accredited University teacher must have a perfectly free hand, subject to the approval of the proper academic bodies, to teach on his own lines, and in his own way. The student should not be

distracted from his studies by the haunting fear of examinations, nor the teacher hampered from freedom of action by a system which is cut-and-dried, stereotyped, and inelastic. If we thought more in terms of studies, and less in those of examinations, if it were understood that the student's prime aim was not to 'prepare' for the examinations, but to learn his subject so far as the time at his disposal would permit, the intellectual atmosphere would be healthier and more bracing than it sometimes is at present.

To study a subject in a manner worthy of a University does not mean to 'get up' a text-book, or to memorize lecture notes. On the contrary, it implies something as far removed as can be from these forms of activity. We want to get away from the atmosphere of text-books and notes at the earliest possible moment. We want to destroy the belief that the essence of English Philology, with its endless possibilities, can be confined within, and expressed by, the pat formulae of text-books, where many questions appear to be settled and closed once and for all, and the last word said, whereas it may well be that the very first intelligent word has still to be uttered upon them.

The student should feel, very early in his studies, that he is not a mere passive onlooker, but is to become an active participant in the game of discovery and inquiry. His teacher, as all will agree, should be less anxious to load his memory with facts and theories, derived at second-hand, than to show him how and where the facts have been discovered, and make him understand why such and such inferences have been drawn from them. The spirit of eager inquiry should pervade all courses of instruction and all private study. When once the beginner understands that he too may make discoveries, and that to do so is vastly more interesting than to adopt an attitude of passive recepti-

vity to the lore of the text-book, then he becomes a real student. He comes gradually to grasp the aims and methods of true learning.

An essential instrument in our system of instruction is a Teaching Library. Here the teacher will find at hand the material with which he is dealing, and the student will learn to use books. He will find the principal sources and the best and latest researches; he will find also the works of the great masters of Philology in the past, and will, under proper guidance, learn something of the way the subject has grown from humble beginnings. Some knowledge of the history of one's subject I take to be a necessary element in a humane and liberal attitude to the study. In this Class Library, or Teaching Library, which is to be to the student of Philology what the Laboratory is to the student of Physics or of Chemistry, the experiments, the first tentative efforts at independent work will be made. Under the direction of his teacher the student will begin the work of research—the solution of simple problems, the searching out of facts not too hard of discovery—it matters not whether they have been discovered before or not; the main thing is that the young student should carry out the operation for himself, and should thus put into practice the scientific methods in which he is being trained. Thus alone can he gain independence, confidence, and resource. I want to insist strongly that the establishment and further development of these Teaching Libraries is not a mere luxury, desirable indeed, though of secondary importance, but a necessity of the first urgency at the present time, if the study of English Philology in this country is ever to become a reality and to yield fruitful results. I cannot imagine any other way in which the subject can be adequately presented to the student, nor by what other means he can be brought acquainted and

familiarized with the sources of knowledge and the progress of the science. I cannot see how else the beginnings are to be made of that essential training in the application of sound philological method without which, as it seems to me, our teaching can lead nowhere—except to the examination room. The further development of what may be called the laboratory method would unquestionably give a new vitality to our subject, and it is hardly conceivable that under such conditions the pursuit of it would fail to appeal to greatly increased numbers of genuine students. The collection of evidence to illustrate this or that question, the sifting, orderly arrangement, and interpretation of this, the overcoming of difficulties, the discussions between teacher and taught of the problems which arise from all such work, the clash of opinion, the disciplined speculation, controlled by reference to sources and authorities, all this is infinitely stimulating to the eager mind of youth and of the highest educative value.

These laboratory classes should begin as soon as a candidate enters the English School. There is no mysterious quality about studies pursued in such a manner which makes them unsuitable for beginners. On the contrary, if the method be sound the earlier it is applied the better. The sooner the pupil can escape from leading-strings and from an atmosphere too closely resembling that of his Secondary School, the better use he will make of his time at the University.

If we can cultivate the right habit of mind, and give some insight into the methods of research in the pre-graduate stage, while at the same time laying that solid basis of elementary knowledge the existence of which we all desire in our pupils, it is evident that we shall have prepared the ground for an ampler training which, in the post-graduate period, will lead, as we hope, to real constructive work.

There is a very real need to consider the means of providing for a training in the methods of research.

It is not enough to offer Research Degrees and prescribe the conditions under which they may be obtained. It is not enough to set forth that the University wishes to encourage post-graduate work. There is no magic in graduation which enables a man to do after it what he was unable to do before. It is futile for a man who has always trusted to others for his information, whether in text-books or lectures, to say suddenly, 'Go to, I will now carry out some research.' Unless he has learnt how to research, has served his apprenticeship, is accustomed to ask the why and wherefore of things, and to find an answer, unless further he is familiar with the problems which demand solution, and is acquainted with the way in which solution is best sought, he will be incapable of research. He does not know what questions to investigate nor how to set about the business. Some part at least of the necessary training must, I think, be undergone before graduating. Failing this, the period of actual production must be considerably postponed.

A student accustomed in his undergraduate days to take part in the work of a well-organized Philological Laboratory, or Library, will be at no loss to suggest a subject for research, and he will have a pretty good idea of how to set about his task. He would naturally also have the constant advice and direction of such teachers as were most interested and skilled in the special field of knowledge which he had chosen.

The existence of a considerable number of post-graduates engaged in research in English would give an enormous impetus to the studies of the younger people who had not yet graduated. The latter should naturally be in touch with the work being carried on in connexion with the School, and would hear it discussed. The post-graduates should be encouraged to give an

informal account, from time to time, of the progress and results of their investigations for the benefit of their younger brethren. Thus the different generations of students would be linked up by the bond of common aims, the real spirit of research would be abroad, and in a University where this prevailed, there would be a living and productive School of English Philology.

The first and last word in our aspirations for the future progress of our studies is Research. This is the life-blood of all learning. It is a truism that without it the teacher has nothing to say which has not been said a thousand times, and must fall back upon the common-places of the text-books. Such a stereotyped treatment of a subject could only lead to sterility and dullness in the pupil also. It is what Coleridge calls 'barricadoing the door to truth, and setting up a turnpike at every turn of the road'. All sound and lively teaching is rooted in research, and can by no means be divorced from it. The teacher must be primarily himself an investigator who shares his discoveries with his pupils and lures them also along the path of discovery. And if this union of teaching and research in the teacher is essential to his own well-being, it is no less so to that of his pupil. For him it means that he is brought into touch with learning in the making; he thus gets 'glimpses that shall make him less forlorn', and feels that he is not the mere bondsman of a system bounded by an examination, but the free and cheerful servant of learning whose scope is infinite.

The creation of adequate teaching libraries, well equipped with books and journals, and suitably housed, appears to me to be the first need of our University Schools of English in this country. We have the germ of such a system here, in the Napier Library, but much has to be done, both in the enlargement of the collections and in bringing it up to date, and lodging it in a building adapted for the purpose of such work as it ought to

accomplish. We must aim at having several rooms—a large, well-lighted central chamber where the books are accessible to all; rooms where demonstration classes can be conducted without disturbing or interrupting the work of readers; rooms where special private research can be carried on.

I have already said that post-graduates might with great advantage keep in close touch with the rising generation of undergraduates. This should indeed be carefully organized. Such a system of instruction as that which I have outlined would demand the services of a certain number of what in the Natural Sciences they would, I suppose, call Demonstrators, and what we should probably call Tutors. These Tutors must of necessity all be engaged on special work of their own, and some of them might be drawn from those who were working for Research Degrees. For these it would be of the highest benefit that they should practise the art of simple and clear statement, that they should acquire the habit of seeing things from the beginner's point of view, and of learning to meet the particular difficulties which beset the elements of a study in different minds. Also in the process of explaining to others their own ideas would be clarified and enlarged. I venture to think that if our Schools of English could be arranged on some such plan as this we should make philological studies more living and attractive to the general run of students, and that we should make them a better educational instrument. We should weld undergraduate and post-graduate work in this subject into an organic unity, and we should further, before long, have created a compact body of independent workers and well-trained, efficient teachers.

May I indicate a few from among the many fruitful lines of research which are open to the student of English Philology?

We want a series of minute studies on the dialectal distribution of elements of vocabulary in Old and Middle English. The basis of such investigations would naturally be those literary monuments of whose place of origin we are approximately certain, but much light will be shed from the study of place names and family names. There is much to be done on the vocabulary of ME. The precise meaning and origin of many words is still obscure; the linguistic sources of others are still but imperfectly known, the chronology of their introduction, and the way in which the meaning has developed, needs to be worked out. Professor Weekley has recently shown, in a popular article, how much may be learnt from old forms of personal names and cognomens, concerning the early existence of certain words in English, which occur in names centuries before they are found in literature. Doubtless stores of material are to be found in the Oxford Dictionary, but this has to be dug out, and in some cases amplified, systematically grouped, and interpreted in special treatises.

The language of the Late OE. period—that of the tenth, eleventh, and early twelfth centuries—needs to be carefully studied from all the available sources, literary documents, and place-name forms. Such an investigation would throw light on many chronological problems. A series of minute studies of the distribution of well-marked dialect features, from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century, is urgently required. This would not only clear up much that is still obscure regarding the relations of the ME. dialects, but would certainly throw light upon those of the earlier period where there is a great dearth of records other than West Saxon.

We ought to be in a position to fix the dialect of all our OE. and ME. texts with some precision, but we shall be unable to do this for a large number of them with any certainty till we have such detailed studies as those

just suggested, together with general comparative surveys. The importance of the early forms of place names in such inquiries has now been amply vindicated. Most English place names contain an element which exists also as an independent word, e.g. *heath*, *hurst*, *well*, *hart*, and so on. These and many other words vary in form in perfectly definite ways according to the dialect in which they occur. By studying the early forms of place names in which such words occur as elements we can arrive at a more minute knowledge of the exact distribution of each type than is possible by any other means. Thus there is a certain dialect feature found both in OE. and ME. and surviving in literary English to-day, to some extent, which until a few years ago was considered to be an unequivocal test of Kentish. Texts in which it occurred were said, if they were not pure Kentish, to show the influence of Kentish scribes. The London dialect of Chaucer was said to have derived this feature from Kent. The investigation of place names has shown that this characteristic was not confined to Kent, but occurred also in varying degree at any rate in Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; while subsequent research has confirmed these results, and has further proved that the peculiarity occurred in Lincolnshire at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, in Norfolk by the third quarter of the fourteenth, and in Northamptonshire in the middle of the twelfth. How much earlier it may have existed in all these areas we do not yet know, but traces of it have recently been discovered in Suffolk documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in a Cambridgeshire Charter of the tenth.

During the War two Germans, Brandl and Heuser, and a Swede, Ekwall, published elaborate investigations into the distribution of dialect features in ME. based almost entirely upon the material afforded by place

names. Here is a rich field for future research, the working of which is at present in its beginnings.

When one inquires into the details of ME. grammar, one finds out how little is known with any certainty. The chronology of the lengthenings and shortenings of vowels, which play so large a part in ME. phonology, and of many of the isolative sound changes which differentiate this from the older forms of English, have still to be fixed with precision.

Again many of the later sound changes which we regard as typical of Modern English, and which were placed by Ellis and Sweet in the sixteenth century, we have now good reasons for thinking were very much earlier.

It was pointed out just now that the results arrived at by the scholars and by their followers, based upon the statements of the old grammarians, were undisputed until quite recently. The old doctrines were, however, seriously undermined seven or eight years ago by Dr. Zachrisson, a Swedish scholar, who besides submitting the grammarians to a severe gruelling, also showed how much could be learnt from the occasional departures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the traditional spelling, departures which arose from the unconscious tendency of scribes to write phonetically. The results of Dr. Zachrisson's work are to prove that the grammarians had been trusted too blindly, and that our Modern English pronunciation was established, practically in its present state, some centuries earlier than Ellis and Sweet supposed.

Still more recent investigations of these questions, based upon a larger collection of occasional spellings, representing not only the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also, drawn mainly from private letters and diaries, tend to confirm the main points in Dr. Zachrisson's contention,

and to put the principal sound changes, or their beginnings, back perhaps a century earlier than he felt justified in doing. If these results gain acceptance it will no longer be necessary to pronounce Shakespeare in what seems to some an outlandish manner, in attempting to reproduce the uttered speech of his age, and there is a further result. If we believe that before the end of the fifteenth century most of the English vowels had reached something not very different from the pronunciation of to-day, it becomes necessary to reconsider our views on the pronunciation of the age of Chaucer. Are we justified in supposing, for instance, that Chaucer still said *fame* with the full 'continental' *ā*, when we can show that less than fifty years after his death spellings and rhymes occur which suggest a pronunciation of this vowel something like that in French *tête*? But if we upset the view usually taught respecting Chaucer's pronunciation of this one vowel, half the system established by Ellis on early pronunciation crumbles. If we further could prove that Chaucer no longer said *bōc* [bōk] but [būk], as I personally believe he did, the other half goes after it. In fact the whole chronology of English sound change is once more in the melting-pot. Here again, then, is a fresh field of investigation, based on material of a new order. If further research on these lines bears out views recently propounded, it will change a large body of doctrine which is now held as orthodox. It lies with the rising generation to confirm or confute the new views. You will notice that these lines of investigation involve a minute study of the actual documents of the past (from, say, 1400 onwards), so careful that it means getting really into touch with the writers, and, one might almost say, hearing them speak. The sympathetic perusal of these very human documents demands quite a different attitude of mind from that required for putting the early grammarians upon the rack and attempting to

torture them into intelligibility. I think the former is a more attractive and a more humanizing occupation. Another interesting line of inquiry, which would throw great light upon life and manners, is the colloquial idiom of everyday life from Chaucer's day to our own. For the fifteenth century the materials are comparatively scanty compared with that of the following centuries, during which it becomes increasingly rich. Private letters, diaries, memoirs, plays, novels, need all to be examined. The subject is a vast one, and a number of collaborators would be required to exhaust it.

As an example of a large general question there may be mentioned the relation of Literary English and Received Standard Spoken English to the various other forms of spoken English—namely the Dialects, both Regional and Social. The changes which have overtaken the spoken language of polite society during the last 300 years are mainly due to a shifting standard. Old forms, words, phrases, and pronunciations have been gradually abandoned in favour of those of another type. These new forms have passed into Received Standard from other dialects. It appears, in the light of what we know, that the Regional Dialects proper have exercised comparatively little influence, and that this comes rather from what I have ventured to call Modified Standard. By this term is meant a type of English derived primarily from the Received Standard, but variously modified among different social classes as they acquired it, and also to some extent by the influence of the original Regional Dialect in different parts of the country. This Modified Standard is what speakers of Received Standard call Vulgarism. But the interesting thing is that the rapid social changes—of many kinds—during the last few centuries have brought about corresponding changes in manners and speech, and in both of these respects the vulgarism of yesterday becomes

the polite form of to-day. The reverse also happens, and many types of pronunciation, idiom, and grammatical construction which were current among the most fastidious speakers in the times of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers would now be considered outrageously vulgar, slipshod, and illiterate. The same thing is still going on, and we may be sure that much of what we now condemn as possessing the peculiarly odious vulgarity of over-refinement, or sham gentility, will in time gain a firm footing in Received Standard, and some of us may live to hear these things from the lips of our grandchildren. Here again is a field of very interesting historical research which at present has hardly even been properly mapped out.

Finally, in this brief indication of possibilities for future work, the study of living Regional Dialects may be mentioned. The *English Dialect Dictionary* is indeed a fine monument of industry and acuteness, with its copiousness of material and the skilful arrangement of the facts it records. The eminent author of this work, and of the *Dialect Grammar* which accompanies it, will not, however, I feel sure, claim that by the publication of these works that chapter of investigation is closed and that all the problems connected with it are settled. The charm of our subject is that the last word is never said. The questions still to be answered are almost endless; I will only indicate a few of them.

First of all it may be said that the beginning of a real comparative grammar of the Modern Regional Dialects has yet to be made.

Again, the relations of these Modern Dialects to those of ME. have still to be made out in detail. The historical study of the Regional Dialects is not nearly so far advanced as that of Literary and Received Standard English.

We do not know the precise genealogy of many of the modern forms of Regional Dialect Speech. Much

of this is doubtless of quite recent origin, and is not the old Regional at all, but is simply sprung from some form of Modified Standard. Before English Dialectology can be considered to make another stride forward, it will be necessary to distinguish the new from the old, the genuine Regional from the Modern Vulgarism.

In dealing systematically with the non-Regional elements, it should be possible in time to distinguish the various strata of imported material and to say, 'This is fifteenth century, that sixteenth, that other seventeenth', and so on. That this influence of Received Standard upon Regional Speech began very early is certain. If John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter in 1450, could write English which was hardly distinguishable from the language of the Court—rather more like it, indeed, than that of William Gregory, who was Lord Mayor of London a year or so later, it is evident that 'London English', or something like what had already become the spoken standard of the Court, was fairly widespread among certain classes at that date. But it is equally clear that this form of English was not then, any more than at present, spoken everywhere in precisely the same manner. It would be modified by the local speech habit—or what philologists call the speech basis—of the area into which it passed. That John Shillingford himself spoke with a Devonshire accent, as did his greater countryman of more than a century later—Sir Walter Raleigh—is obvious from some of his spellings, which reflect a type of pronunciation typically western in character. A great deal of present-day Regional Dialect, then, is certainly, in origin, Standard English modified by local habit; but some of this element may represent the Received Standard of several centuries ago which has survived there like a fossil fish in chalk. Such an inquiry as that suggested would throw light incidentally upon the history of Received Standard.

The future investigator of living English dialects must bring to his task a thorough phonetic training, a minute knowledge of Middle English Dialects, and an equally detailed knowledge of the English of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries—a combination of accomplishments which few workers in this field in the past possessed. If we are now able to see more clearly what are the vital questions in the historical treatment of living dialects, and to devise more exact methods of investigation than the workers of the past, this is due partly to the rapid advances in various domains which have been made in English Philology during the last two decades, and partly also, as we must never forget, to the labours of the first scientific workers in this field, of whom Professor Wright is the chief in this country. We should be wrong, however, not to recognize that the older methods are hardly adequate to the requirements of to-day, and that a wider outlook is possible and necessary at the present time.

Such, then, are a very few of the general and special questions which are awaiting competent workers. Each of these lines of research, and others which will occur to many of my hearers, will give rise, for those who follow them, to many new, and at present perhaps unforeseen problems. Research begets research, both for the worker himself and for others.

Are we at English Universities going to do these and many other things ourselves, or shall we leave them all for the foreigner? That is the question we teachers have to consider. With all respect, I ask my colleagues to give serious thought to the problem of reorganizing English Philological studies in our Universities so as to bring them more into relation with the present state of knowledge, and to make them if possible more living and attractive. Above all, can we not take steps to secure greater facilities for training students in the spirit and methods of research?

It has been far from my intention to lay down hard-and-fast lines, or to prescribe dogmatically the precise manner in which progress may be achieved. I have tried merely to give an indication of my own aspirations, to provide a basis for further discussion, and to emphasize some of the essentials, as they appear to me, in a progressive policy. It is evident that conditions and requirements are different in different Universities, and that each University must adapt its organization of studies to its own peculiar soil and genius. The main thing is to have a clear aim, and to press vigorously towards it.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words on the relation between the two sides of our School of English —the Philological and the Literary.

The belief which I am told still lingers in obscure places, though certainly not in Oxford, that there is a natural hostility and jealousy between the representatives of these two great branches of study, is too extravagant to need refutation here. Such follies and trivialities find no resting-place in this University. The study of Literature and that of Philology are undoubtedly very different in aim and method; they appeal, severally, with special force, as we have already admitted, to rather different types of mind; and it appears to me perfectly open to discussion, whether in the organization of studies in a University Philology and Literature should form two Schools or one School. While these two disciplines, as regards their aims and methods, run largely in separate channels, there are certainly some aspects of each where the dividing wall between them appears to vanish, so that the two streams almost mingle. Still, each is a most exacting pursuit, and demands long periods of unshared devotion, and a bountiful degree of leisure. Each requires that certain habits of mind shall be formed which, if not necessarily incompatible one

with the other, are so different that it is apt to be distracting and irritating for a young student to pass rapidly and constantly from one to the other, especially if his heart is mainly set in one direction. I cannot help feeling that when both Literature and Philology are insisted upon for a University examination, there is a danger that the student may be harassed by being compelled constantly to turn aside from those pursuits in which lies his chief delight, and that his studies in both subjects may suffer—especially that in which he ought most to excel. On the other hand, there are drawbacks to a complete separation of subjects. I am not going to attempt to settle this thorny question here. The matter may come up for discussion some day, and in the meantime every one should preserve, as far as may be, an open mind. I am quite certain that all of us wish to see both studies flourish and develop in our University to the highest possible degree, and more, that every one recognizes that the fullest facilities and opportunities ought to be given to the student of English to receive the best training the University can give in that one of the sister subjects, whichever it may be, for which he has the greatest inclination and aptitude.

It is easy to see that by combining both in one School you may get but a mutilated training in each, or else an unsatisfactory system whereby, while nominally insisting upon both, we yet permit a concentration upon the subject of the candidate's choice, so that the performance in the other might tend to become merely formal and perfunctory. Whatever may be our ultimate policy in this respect, I trust we shall remember that leisure for proper assimilation and quiet reflection is essential to a fruitful course of study. I think we shall agree that if a subject is studied at all, for a University Honour School, it must be tackled seriously, and in such a way that the student may derive some permanent intellectual advantage from its pursuit.

In saying this, I am thinking mainly of the philological studies of those candidates whose chief subject is English Literature. We must consider very carefully in the near future both the extent and the character of the courses on the History of English which we present to these candidates, and the amount of time which they can reasonably be expected to expend upon their studies in this and kindred subjects, having regard to the exacting nature of their more special work. If we find it possible to devise a scheme of philological study sufficiently living, interesting, and thorough so far as it goes, which can give to the majority of Literature students a fresh outlook and some grasp of principles, one in which the historical study of English is related, in some living manner, to the work in literature, such a Course might have a real educational value. If we cannot secure this in the time at our disposal, then, speaking for myself, I would rather leave it alone.

I recognize that the number of special students in Literature will probably always be far larger than those in Philology. It behoves us therefore to come to an understanding with our colleagues the teachers of Literature as to the place which Philology should occupy in the studies of their pupils. It is for them to tell us how largely they think this subject should bulk in the training of literary scholars. They are surely the only competent judges in the matter. It is only, I think, by such complete agreement, confidence, and sympathy as exist to-day among all the teachers of our School of English, that the best interests of the School as a whole can be served.

You will not have gathered, I hope, that I should ever be content to regard English Philology as a mere appanage of the School of English Literature, a sort of make-weight in the education of its members.

If we are anxious to see a great School of English

Literature in Oxford, with flourishing departments of historical research and of criticism, in which the writings of every age are studied in all their bearings, and literary movements are traced, so far as may be, to their origins, their relations to our social and spiritual development revealed, and their connexions with the general stream of European culture investigated—if we desire this and more, and intend to collaborate to the best of our power to assist our literary colleagues in the realization of their dreams, we philologists expect, nay, we are certain of, an equal sympathy and support from them.

We hope gradually to build up a vigorous School of philological study and research, smaller, in point of numbers, it may be, than the School of Literature, but assuredly no less eager and active.

Our School will (as we hope) be so organized as to permit all those who desire it to specialize in Philology, and to devote their time in the most fruitful manner to the subject, free from distractions. The machinery whereby this may be accomplished has yet to be devised. You may be sure that the necessary adjustments between Philology and Literature will be made in no grudging and huckstering spirit; not by a series of petty bargainings and mean concessions, now on the one part, now on the other, but in a spirit of cheerful and generous understanding, on both sides, of the other's aspirations.

At the present time most teachers and students of English Philology in our Universities are suffering under a system which restricts and partly sterilizes the labours of both.

Among the defects of our system the following appear to me the chief as they affect philological studies:—

In many places the time-table is far too heavy, having regard to the short time allowed for covering the ground. This is especially the case in those Univer-

sities where the English School is double-barrelled. Our studies are hurried and superficial.

Too often there is no time for the young student to become immersed in the spirit and methods of his subject. There are not enough facilities for introducing him directly to the sources of knowledge and the principal first-hand authorities.

We are not always able, from a variety of causes, to wean our pupils from dependence upon text-books, and lecture-courses which are often virtually, merely dictated text-books. We have often neither time nor opportunity to begin a real training of our students in the work of independent study and research. The organization and the specialized teaching are frequently lacking which alone can create productive scholars. Curricula and examination requirements have sometimes become stereotyped and rigid (through no fault of the teachers), so that they no longer represent the subject as it now exists, but rather a conception which has long been antiquated. Thus it may happen that the student is never confronted at all with many of the most interesting problems which are now the subject of inquiry and discussion among the most lively and progressive investigators. The extraordinary variety of questions now at issue in the several periods of English, the numberless lines of inquiry now open, and the new paths of approach, are sometimes lost sight of, with the result that the student never learns to stray from tracks that have long been beaten hard and arid by countless feet.

None of these defects in our system is past our power to remedy. We all, I believe, look forward to a revival of philological studies in our Universities, an awakening of enthusiasm and of productive activity. We shall labour to bring this about. But when we elders have succeeded, or failed, as it may chance, in doing our part, the future of English Philology lies with the rising generation.

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